FORUM

Vol. CIV, No. 3 and Column Review

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Sidney B. Fay

RE-EDUCATION OF JAPAN
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NOVEMBER, 1945

Volume CIV Number 3

Re-Education of Japan.....Channing Liem 193
Blueprint for Health in New Zealand.....Shirley Jenkins 198
Italy and Power Politics.....Hilda Fisher 204
Indoctrinating Democracy?.....C. L. Thompson 209
Peace-Making: 1919, 1945.....Sidney B. Fay 215
Tax Relief for Business.....Alzada Comstock 222
III—Labor Rivalries and Policies.....Mark Starr 227
Morality for the Atomic Age.....Edward C. Lindeman 231
Emily Post of the Fifties.....Robert L. Wheeler 234
War is a Psychosis.....Ernest L. Meyer 236
Asia: Test Case.....Jay Franklin 238
Forum: Shall We Interfere in Argentina?.....M. K. Strong and C. Braun 240
Yale Prepares for "One World".....Benjamin Fine 251
The West Wants Regional Redistribution.....Richard L. Neuberger 254
Momma, Take a Bow.....Malvina Lindsay 256
When Kids Were Giant-Killers.....Malcolm W. Bingay 258
Answer-Imperative.....Marquis Childs 260
Editorialingo: Civil vs. Military Control..... 262
Poetry.....David Morton 268
Books in Brief.....Jasper R. Lewis 269
The Theatre Arts.....John Gassner 274
Highlighting the News.....A Monthly Summary 279
Forum Features..... 288

Indexed in *The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*

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FORUM

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Vol. CVI NOVEMBER, 1945 No. 3

A positive program for our occupational forces

Re-education of Japan

By Channing Liem

Secretary, American Foundation for Korean Education

THE apparent good behavior of the Japanese people since their surrender has surprised many Americans. Occupation of Japan by the American Army has been carried out without an "incident". So far the Japanese government has proven quite helpful. Even signs of "penitence" on the part of some Japanese individuals are not lacking, we are told. Impressed by these, some Americans appear to be on the verge of wondering whether their views concerning the Japs during the period of hostility were not, after all, unfair exaggerations.

That, precisely, is the reaction the Japanese want to see created in America today. Having been beaten on the field of battle, they now hope to prevent America from winning the peace by means of make-believe sweetness. They want America to indulge in self-pride with the knowledge that the retention of Hirohito on the throne was a master strategy. They would have us think that a few in the fanatical wing of the Imperial Army were responsible for starting the war. Those in power pose as peace-loving servants of the deceived people and seek American aid in rebuilding a "peaceful nation".

To entertain the thought that either the Japanese are awake to their guilt overnight or the war was merely a sign of their abnormal nature is to play dangerously into the enemy's hands. Every move they have made thus far is the result of their carefully thought-out plan to lure America into a false sense of security. Manifestations of Japanese "sincerity" today have surprised no one who knows the Japanese. They are pursuing exactly one of the two courses expected of them, namely: to fight it out to the last man, or to make face-about gesture and "be nice".

All this proves that the task of creating honest and peaceful citizens out of the Japanese people is difficult indeed. The task will require sustained vigil and all-out efforts of

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America and its allies. It involves, first of all, a correct appraisal of the defeated enemy. Secondly, it involves our firm recognition that the war with Japan is not yet over. And thirdly, it demands that re-education of Japanese must be thoroughly realistic. In the following pages the writer hopes to amplify and clarify these points.

Prior to 1941 the Japanese had enjoyed the reputation of being the most enlightened and likable of all the Asiatic peoples. Then, aroused by the Pearl Harbor infamy, Americans reduced these diminutive people to the level considerably lower than that of others. Then again, with the surrender of the enemy and his assurances of "cooperation", not a few Americans hasten to view the Japs in the light they had been accustomed to until December 7, 1941. This is a sad spectacle. For it displays an amazing lack of proper understanding of their erstwhile foe in the Pacific. Now that both the artificial light of the pre-Pearl Harbor days and the stormy days of the war are over, America should calmly face the new day in its true light. Japanese under the true light are neither the adorable children of the Sun Goddess nor of the same breed as the jungle apes. They are, to be sure, a member of the human family, but their racial characteristics are at great variance with ours. Hence, while they can be educated and reformed, the task will require all our resources and patience.

Here we have the space to discuss but one or two of the Japanese characteristics. In the first place, Japanese on the whole are a sadistic people. The war just ended showed ample evidence of their sadism. If the sadistic atrocities of the Japanese during the Second World War were the only instances, one might conclude that they were the creation of war hysteria. But Japanese history is replete with instances of organized and systematic sadistic actions of her people. Between the first century B. C. and now the Japanese have staged more than 50 unprovoked aggressions against their neighboring countries. All these aggressions were characterized by deliberate cruelties.

Her invasion of Korea under Hideyoshi is typical. This Japanese Fuehrer of the late sixteenth century attained to power and glory through the blood of his own countrymen. Having made himself the actual ruler of Japan neither he nor his soldiers were contented. But there were no further conquests to be made in Japan. So he was set to invade Korea as the first step toward conquering Ming, now China. Hideyoshi's pretext for "punishing" Korea was the latter's failure to send an emissary to congratulate him on his victory over his opponents in Japan. Seeking to avoid the war, Korea swallowed her pride and dispatched an emissary to him. But not only did Hideyoshi insult the Korean envoys by dancing naked with a baby in his arms before their very eyes; he gave them a note addressed to the King of Korea ordering the latter to help him invade China. During the invasion which Hideyoshi soon launched the Jap horde robbed and looted Korean property, raped, massacred, burned and kidnapped Korean men and women, and dug up the royal an-

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cestral tombs and threw the bones to the winds. It was during this aggression that the Japanese shipped back to their country a large number of pickled ears and noses of Koreans which were buried at Kyoto. The place still stands today as a mute memorial of Japanese sadism.

In the early days of the Japanese drive for immigration into Korea the Japanese employed many methods to drive the Koreans away from their ancestral farms into Manchuria and Siberia. One of them commonly used was the nakedness with which the Jap farmers went about the villages, for it was the easiest way to force the Koreans out of their villages. During the unarmed demonstration for Korean independence in 1919 thousands of women were arrested. As a little boy in Korea I witnessed one day the arrival of the Jap policemen in our town to inspect spring house cleaning. The mayor of the town, a relative of mine, invited them to refreshments which they readily accepted. After enjoying the hospitality they got up to leave. Suddenly one of them turned to his host and slapped him in the face, exclaiming: "You lazy beast, trying to bribe us!" As my relative stood speechless and trembling, the Japs laughed heartily and left. Study of Japanese behavior throughout their history leads one to the inevitable conclusion that they are a sadistic people.

Secondly, as a logical consequence, Japanese fear and worship power. When they are in power they are sadistic beasts, but when powerless, they kneel before the powerful and worship him. In the early 1920's when America was still the mighty country from which Perry had come, some of the highest Jap officials in Korea bowed before the opinion of an humble American missionary. But what the Japs thought of, and did to, the same American missionaries following Pearl Harbor is a familiar story. In 1930 I sailed on a Japanese ship with a minor British officer. This Briton was waited upon by the Jap stewards as though he were a prince, and he looked upon it as a matter of course. On the day the ship arrived in Seattle the stewards crowded around him with even greater politeness, evidently in the hope that their labor might result in material compensation. But the Briton almost kicked them in the face as he hurried to his cabin. Those were the days when Great Britain was yet the symbol of power.

The Japanese do not question the right or wrong of the mighty. They simply worship the powerful. Hitherto Japanese have been unable to cherish their sovereign as the symbol of Japan. In the days of Shogunate the emperors were ignored to such an extent that some had to resort to menial labor to maintain their existence. In the 1860's when an ambitious military clique in Japan brought the Emperor from the Kyoto refuge, he became overnight the God of Japan, an object of fear and worship. What made the difference? It was the military power of the clique that decided to perpetuate its power by exercising it in the name of the Emperor. The people accepted the new turn of events without question or murmur.

It is obvious, therefore, that to undertake to reform the Japanese within a certain number of years is

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futile. The best one can do to render Japan harmless is to keep it weak. To keep Japan weak the United States must maintain a sufficiently large military force in Japan, and without informing the Japanese how long the occupation will last. Meanwhile the nations around Japan should be encouraged to rehabilitate and consolidate themselves.

The second point we must keep in mind with respect to Japan is that we are still at war with her. True, Japan has surrendered, but to assume that she is resigned to her fate is a foolish notion. We should never forget the fact that Japan remains an unrepentant and embittered enemy, searching every opportunity to fling a sneak attack at us. The Japanese state of mind at present is such that nothing we say to them or do to them will allay their bitterness for a long time to come. Some are naive enough to believe that our being nice to them might win their heart. Quite on the contrary, it will only serve to make them more tricky. They are on the offensive in her psychological and diplomatic war on us. They want to kill our memory of their sneak attack on Pearl Harbor. They want us to forget their inhuman atrocities. They want us to get off their soil as soon as possible. And they want us to help them get on their feet.

What should America do to defeat Japan in this warfare? First, America should immediately cease to deal with the present regime in Japan. While it is true that this regime has helped American occupation to proceed without bloodshed, it is also true that it is the seed-bed of Japan's future aggression. The longer it is allowed to linger, the greater potential threat to American security it will be, for in subtle ways and means it continues to rally the Japanese population behind it, and fans their hatred against us. The best and surest way to turn Japanese hatred from us is to make them hate one another. And the easiest way to accomplish this end is to punish everyone in Japan, including Hirohito, who has taken any part in the prosecution of the Second World War. Render everyone powerless and let his guilt be known to the entire population of Japan. Let the Japanese people accuse and be bitter against one another. It will stifle the war-like aggressiveness of the Japanese. And the first requirement toward re-education of Japan will have been met.

EDUCATING THE JAPANESE

We now come to the discussion of the program of educating Japanese with the view to enabling them to become a decent member of the family of nations. This program must be based upon realism, not on wishful thinking. A realistic program of reforming the Japanese is primarily the occupation and rule of Japan by the United States and other United Nations until such time as when she has been permanently weakened and the roots of her future aggression uprooted. In order to accomplish this objective the following two steps are vital:

1. The occupation government should be headed by a civilian or a civilian commission. The allied

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army of sufficient strength should be merely the police force to maintain law and order and to help carry out the government policies. This will, without the use of words, teach Japanese that force is merely a means to an end.

2. The occupation government should create a committee on education to initiate and carry out the educational program in Japan. The committee should set up a program that involves a revision of the text books, especially the historical books, based on facts and democracy. It must review the whole Japanese literature now in circulation to weed out falsehood and militaristic teaching. It must include a thorough shake-up of the curriculum to abolish all subjects and activities designed to foster imperialism. It must teach the superiority of democracy over dictatorship. It must teach the freedoms of worship and expression. It must endeavor to help the people of Japan to solve their economic problem by means of scientific and intensive farming, extensive fishing and small-scale, peace industry on the one hand, and by means of planned parenthood on the other.

These proposals I have mentioned here are mainly for the reform of formal educational system in Japan. Re-education of the Japanese includes more than that of those in schools. Indeed, greater emphasis should be given to the mass education, for they who are out of school constitute the backbone of Japan today. For the re-education of the mass population the press and publications, radio, movies and oral debating methods should be employed. The contents of education for these Japanese should be the same as those for these in schools.

In conclusion, it must be repeated that, in view of the racial characteristics of the Japanese people, no fundamental reform is possible within a generation. The best and first requirement, therefore, is to keep Japan completely disarmed and weak. Secondly, we must plan for a long occupation of the island nation with adequate military force placed under a civilian head. Thirdly, we must carry out an aggressive re-educational program designed to remake the Japanese. This will take a long time to show any result, but with the nation rendered totally impotent, ultimate reform of the people is possible.

It must also be understood that no matter how adequate these plans are and no matter how well and thoroughly they are carried into execution, they may yet prove useless unless the people of America and those of other United Nations remain alert, and contribute their share to the end that Japan shall never again become the menace to the world. They should not be fooled by the protestations of Japan's good intentions. They should guard themselves against being sentimental about Japanese hardships. They should constantly strive to maintain the unity of purpose that was created during the war. And finally, to the degree that they support their occupation and education authorities in Japan, the task of ensuring peace in the Pacific will be successful.

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New Zealand shows how health insurance can work

Blueprint for Health

By Shirley Jenkins

Assistant Editor, *Far Eastern Survey;* Research Associate, Institute of Pacific Relations

NEW ZEALAND'S long-standing reputation as a social "laboratory" is based on the willingness of its people to experiment on themselves with untried measures of welfare and social control. Yet the cultural climate of New Zealand is not unlike our own. It follows that we shall be missing an opportunity if we fail to note and learn from New Zealand's latest experiment—national health insurance for all, financed by a tax on income.

Perhaps it is a subconscious feeling that we must compensate in some way for the terrible inhumanity of the war; perhaps an awareness of our own physical deficiencies which showed up so glaringly in the record of Army rejections, or perhaps it is simply a realization that a better life is within reach, but never before have the people of this country shown such interest in the advancements of medical science or in plans for raising health standards and extending medical care. We are confronted with a variety of plans for improving our own health, and it is difficult for the layman to judge which will work and which will not. We are fortunate in having the opportunity to learn something from the experience of others.

New Zealand began to experiment with national health insurance under the Social Security Act of 1938, and for the past several years our friends "down under" have been testing their plan. There have been some problems, resistances and objections; compromises have been made, and new plans initiated. Looking at the way their plan has worked out is not only interesting in itself, but may provide a clue for those concerned with the extension of medical care in this country.

Every man, woman and child of New Zealand's population of over one and a half million is entitled to free medical, hospital and nursing care, together with free medicines and drugs. The "charter" for this health program is the Act of 1938, a single comprehensive piece of legislation, including provisions for old-age and unemployment insurance, widows' and orphans' pensions, and medical and hospital benefits. Unlike the United States, New Zealand is not a federal government, and so has no problem of conflicting jurisdictions or areas of administration. The advantages of a single, national piece of legislation are worth considering. In the United States we have a national old-age insurance scheme, 48 different state unemployment insurance laws, and, if that isn't enough, municipal, state and federal plans for health insurance!

The most perfect blueprint for a health plan won't work unless it

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starts with, or can quickly secure, the support of the medical profession. New Zealand doctors, like their colleagues in other countries, were very apprehensive about legislating health insurance, and extremely critical of the original government plan. The scheme for "Medical Benefits," which was incorporated in the 1938 Act, and came into force on March 1, 1941, was a capitation system. Under its provisions any person could select his own doctor and register with him. In this way a doctor would secure a list of patients to whom he would be obligated to provide, once he has accepted the patient on his list, whatever medical care might be required during the year. As compensation, he receives no payment from the patient, but a specified sum per year for each individual from the Social Security Fund, plus an additional compensation for traveling expenses. There is also the possibility of transferring from one physician to another.

OPPOSITION TO PLAN

When the government attempted to put this plan into practice, a storm of public controversy was faced. Dr. James P. Jamieson, president of the New Zealand branch of the British Medical Association, called the scheme State helotry, and the *New Zealand Medical Journal* charged the plan would make doctors state servants, without working hours, vacations, promotions or pensions. In answer, the *Standard*, official paper of the controlling Labor party, said, "Can Dr. Jamieson deny that the attitude of the BMA shows it stands for profits first and that public health can go hang?" They charged the BMA with standing as a power above Parliament. The name-calling and controversy achieved nothing; the doctors stood firm, with over 99 per cent refusing to cooperate in the early weeks of the campaign. A medical plan without doctors, like a wheel-barrow without a wheel, can make no progress at all.

The deadlock with the doctors lasted from March to September, 1941, when as a compromise an alternate plan was introduced. It provided fees for service out of the Social Security funds. This was much more in keeping with the traditional way of conducting medical business, and gained far greater support from the doctors. A specified fee was to be paid for each visit, either at home or in the office. This fee could be collected either from the patient, who would then be re-imbursed by the Social Security Fund, or from the Fund directly by the doctor. Somewhat higher fees were provided for Sunday and night service, and for extra time over one-half hour, and a mileage allowance was made. Almost all the doctors in New Zealand are now cooperating—to some extent—with the health insurance scheme under either the capitation or the fee-for-service plans.

There is a large and obvious loophole in this plan. No doctor is under obligation to accept the fee stipulated in the Act in full payment for his services, although he cannot recover any additional amount by legal process. For example, translated into American terms, the doctor may say to his patient, "My fee is $5.00; I will collect the stipulated

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$3.00 from the Fund, and the other $2.00 from you." Or the entire $5.00 may be collected from the patient, who could only be re-imbursed for $3.00 from the Fund. In May, 1944, 96 per cent of the doctors were cooperating to some extent with the plan, but only 22 per cent were accepting the payment from the Fund as their entire fee.

One of the main reasons why the doctors have been able to demand higher fees is the wartime shortage of practitioners. New Zealand has never had an over-abundant supply of doctors, and her early and wholehearted participation in the war greatly raised the patient-doctor ratio. By June, 1941, three per cent of the country's doctors had already been casualties or prisoners of war, principally in North Africa and the Mediterranean theatre. By January, 1944, 352 of the country's 1,200 registered physicians were in the armed forces, and one region in New Zealand with a population of

A report in October, 1945, from New Zealand indicates there is a good deal of criticism of the way the free physician service plan has worked out. The National Medical Council there has listed what it considers to be numerous abuses, including overconsultation, speedy examination and very heavy drain on the Fund. The major problem appears to be the excessive fees asked by the doctors, over and above the established payment from the Government. Incomplete reports indicate the Government may be considering instituting a fixed income plan for doctors, which is what was originally in the minds of some of the early advocates of health insurance in New Zealand. Developments in the next few months will indicate the extent to which the principle of cooperation among doctors, patients and government has been accepted.

FREE HOSPITAL CARE

The plan for free hospital care met no such opposition, as New Zealand had already had experience with a network of public hospitals. These had previously been supported jointly by government subsidies, local contributions and patients' fees. When the new legislation went into effect in 1939, the subsidies and contributions continued, but instead of patients' fees, a comparable sum was given from the Social Security Fund. Any individual is, as a result, entitled to full and free treatment in public hospitals, and there is no limit on the length of stay. This includes nursing care, drugs, X-rays, appliances and outpatient care. The vast majority of the people use the public hospitals. However, provision is also made for those who prefer to go to privately financed institutions. It is possible to credit the amount from the Fund as part of the bill in the private hospital—a procedure not unlike that followed by some of our hospital plans in this country.

The special problems involved in maternity care are recognized, and a separate plan is provided. A lump sum payment is made from the Fund to the private physician undertaking to provide pre-natal, confinement, and post-natal care, and 14 days in maternity hospitals are included. If a baby is born at home, a fee is allowed for an obstetric nurse, and for a visiting nurse after confinement.

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One of the recent and more novel extensions of the plan has been the provision of domestic assistance to housewives. The financial circumstances of householders determines whether the government will pay all or part of a helper's wages. The plan is restricted to homes where there is real need, namely those with one or more children under 12 years and an incapacitated mother, those with three or more children where any member requires general care, and those where all members are partly or wholly incapacitated. Although this plan will be financed by the government, it will be administered by certain approved women's organizations.

In New Zealand the health insurance plan is financed from the general social security fund, which covers many types of health, welfare and insurance benefits. The bulk of the financial support comes from a tax of one shilling in the pound on all wages, salaries and other income. This has been estimated at five per cent of all income. The distinctive financial feature of the New Zealand system is that there is not a separate worker and management contribution. The New Zealand tax for social security is paid on all income, individual as well as corporation. In addition, there is a registration fee charge of five shillings a year for all women and youths between 16 and 20, and five shillings a quarter for all men. If the money collected through the registration fee and special tax is not adequate, the government may contribute to the Social Security Fund by transfers from other sources through parliamentary appropriation.

UNSOLVED DIFFICULTIES

The New Zealand plan lays a pretty good foundation for real medical care for the people, and the principle of health insurance has become generally accepted. One complaint is that there has not as yet been worked out a suitable plan for specialist care, that is, for meeting the much higher fees demanded by the specialist. There is no argument that he is not entitled to this extra compensation, and it is felt that an adequate plan should take account of the increase in specialization in medicine.

New Zealand doctors, overburdened because of the excessive demands of the war period, have shied away from the capitation or panel system. One of the reasons given is that, if committed to providing treatment to a list of individuals, they would not be able to discriminate in favor of those patients who were more in need of care. Undoubtedly there is some danger of abuse in any plan which initiates free care to which all have an equal right. Public education is one way of meeting this problem, more doctors is another, and clearly defined standards and basis for treatment is a third. Free drug distribution has also met its share of criticism, and some doctors have felt some of their colleagues have been too liberal in the dispensation of prescriptions, hoping to satisfy their patients with a bottle of medicine. For their part, some hospital officials have also been critical of so-called abuses of the free hospital plan.

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Last February Mr. Nordmeyer, Minister of Health, attempted to explain the government position when he said that free hospitalization did not mean that every person who fell ill should enter a hospital; those who could be nursed at home should remain there. He felt a certain responsibility fell on the hospital superintendents to ensure that only those who could not be nursed at home either because of conditions there or the seriousness of their illness should be admitted to the hospitals. The other side of the picture was presented by Mr. Toogood, Chairman of the Board of the Wellington Hospital, as quoted in the *Evening Post* of April 17, 1945. In explaining the quandary of the hospital superintendent, he is quoted as saying, ". . . the government has claimed that it has made the hospitals 'free' and can people be blamed if, when they fall sick, they seek to obtain the services for which they have had to pay through social security taxation?" Mr. Toogood felt there was an urgent need for a new and constructive approach to make hospital treatment less necessary and home treatment, including medical and nursing aid, less difficult.

There are some complaints against abuses of medical care. No problem arises with patients in critical need of aid. The difficulty is with the large number of people who are in need of some help, but for whom there are inadequate facilities. With the end of the war, it is almost certain that both medical and hospital facilities will increase and thus ease the problem. Also, our concept of medical care may well be in process of change; one does not have to think back very far to remember a time when a hospital room, with a doctor in attendance, was considered a folly and a luxury in childbirth.

There have been many constructive suggestions from New Zealand doctors on ways and means of furthering the plan. For example, it is felt that the government should do more to help young students receive training, and some beginning has been made in the extension of bursaries for medical and dental students. Forward-looking doctors feel that insufficient attention has been given in New Zealand to medical research, and that here, too, the government has some responsibility to advance further medical science by providing facilities and grants.

It is not easy to form an estimate of the long-term prospects for the health insurance program. However, the record of the New Zealand government over many years, in fostering by subsidy the development of public hospitals, public school dental clinics and infant-health societies, suggests that the national health insurance scheme has the evolutionary character which ensures permanency. By the end of the war health insurance is likely to be a firmly-established institution in New Zealand. The return of doctors from the armed forces will ease the problem of medical cooperation. The assurance of payment, which the scheme offers to the doctors, will probably be welcomed by those who, after years of absence, will have no practice awaiting them.

Financial considerations are likely

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to be the most difficult for the maintenance of the scheme in the years ahead, although at present they are minimal. Opposition to the payment of a health tax is not a major factor. Most of us have had the experience of reviewing our insurance investment when a premium payment comes due. The decision to drop insurance is hard to make, and there seems to be much less psychological resistance in continuing to pay than in making the initial payment. In the same way, it is likely that once a tax is established to cover all health needs, it is likely to remain.

The more serious financial problem would arrive with a decline in national income. Such a decline would cause a loss of revenue from the special income tax, and at the same time require an increased expenditure from the general Social Security Fund for unemployment insurance. The problem may never plague the New Zealanders' legislated health—national income may stay at high levels or even continue to rise. In the long run it will be events outside the Dominion and, to a large extent, the economic policy of the United States which will indirectly determine the fate of the health insurance program in New Zealand.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933, of FORUM AND COLUMN REVIEW, published monthly at Philadelphia, Pa., October 1, 1945.

State of Pennsylvania, County of Philadelphia, ss. Before me, a Notary Public of Pennsylvania, and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared D. G. Redmond, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of Forum and Column Review and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit: 1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher, Events Publishing Company, Inc., 135 South 2nd St., Philadelphia, Pa.; Editor, D. G. Redmond, 135 South 2nd St., Philadelphia, Pa.; Managing Editor, None; Business Manager, None. 2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock.) Events Publishing Company, Inc., 135 South 2nd St., Philadelphia, Pa.; Shelby Cullom Davis, Scarborough-on-Hudson, N. Y.; Sidney B. Fay, 194 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass.; Delia Kuhn, 202 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md.; Frederic A. Ogg, 1715 Kendall Ave., Madison, Wis.; D. G. Redmond, 135 South 2nd St., Philadelphia, Pa. 3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None. 4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company as trustee in any other fiduciary relations, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

(SEAL) D. G. REDMOND, Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 5th day of October, 1945.

JACOB S. BRENNER, Notary Public
(My commission expires Feb. 15, 1949.)

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The Council of Foreign Ministers reaches no agreement on colonies

Italy and Power Politics

By Hilda Fisher

WHETHER she wants to or not, Italy is gradually finding herself enmeshed in the age-old net of powers politics. She has been caught up in the ideological struggle between Western and Eastern Europe now that expedient war-time unity has been abandoned to satisfy individual interests.

Italy was accorded the honor of being the first guinea pig enrolled in the new experimental laboratory called the Council of Foreign Ministers. As the leading "scientists" failed to agree on the theory and method of colonial trusteeship, Italy was temporarily spared the scalpel which would have severed her colonies from her.

At Potsdam, the preparation of a peace treaty for Italy was recognized as the first among the immediate important tasks to be undertaken by the Council. But the first session of the Council of Foreign Ministers was unable to draft such a treaty. Expectations were high in the early days of the session, but unforeseen snags arose to deadlock the conference.

Each of the Big Five's Foreign Ministers came to London prepared to present his views on the disposition of Italy's colonies and the demarcation of her frontiers. At Potsdam it was agreed the British would formulate a draft treaty to serve as the basis of discussion. Britain was known to favor a system of collective trusteeship under the United Nations Organization. Both the United States and France reportedly backed an individual trusteeship with Italy acting for the United Nations. The Russians kept silent on their attitude until they stunned the Council with their pronouncements in favor of individual trusteeship. The Chinese were politely quiet on European issues, though they voiced approval of the collective trusteeship plan.

The Italian colonies at issue were Eritrea, Somaliland, Libya and the Dodecanese Islands—all pre-Fascist acquisitions. The independence of Albania and Ethiopia, Fascist conquests, had been decided long before the Council met.

Italy made known its colonial hopes through its most important spokesman, Premier Ferruccio Parri. For a defeated nation, her colonial aspirations were ambitious, and were obviously more than she expected to get. Yet Italy was guided in her requests by the fact that she had fought for two years alongside the Allies against Germany. While recognizing that Italy should cede the Dodecanese Islands to Greece to atone for Fascism's wrongs against that nation, Signor Parri said he hoped that Italy would not be ex-

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pelled from Africa. Since Italian investments there could be measured in terms of billions of lire and Italian prosperity depended upon Mediterranean trade, Premier Parri felt that Italy should retain a foothold in Libya and southern Ethiopia.

Throughout the session, the American delegation was kindly disposed towards Italy. Though it never openly said so, the United States delegation favored Italy's administration of her colonies under an individual trusteeship of the United Nations. This would have hinged on Italy's admission to the fold of the United Nations. The Potsdam declaration left no question as to Italy's eventual membership, for it expressed the Big Three's "desire to support an application from Italy for membership of the United Nations."

On the other hand, Britain's Foreign Minister, Socialist Ernest Bevin, proposed that Italian colonies be placed under collective trusteeship of the United Nations. Britain, incidentally, hopes to solve the ticklish Palestinian question by submitting it to collective trusteeship. Her unhappy experiences under the old League's system of mandates has caused considerable hesitation on Britain's part in backing individual trusteeships.

Why the discrepancy in the Anglo-American solutions for the Italian problem? It was not a beneficent feeling towards Italy that made the United States seek to allow Italian retention of her colonies under international supervision. Rather, it was a fear of Russia's extending her sphere of influence to the Mediterranean, Africa, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. England, with more to lose from Russian infringement on her dominating position in these areas, still favored collective trusteeship.

The American viewpoint officially emerged in support of collective trusteeship. Evidently, this was a compromise and concession to Russia. But this concession seemed mild in comparison with the startling Russian demand that came forth.

RUSSIAN PROPOSALS

The Soviet delegation proposed an individual trusteeship. However, the trusteeship was to be in Russian, not Italian, hands. Russia suggested that she be granted an individual trusteeship over Tripolitania, a province in Libya. Furthermore, her implied interest in bases in Eritrea and the Dodecanese Islands also caused grave uneasiness among the British. Claiming that the United States State Department, at San Francisco, promised Russia the right to participate in the administration of Italian colonies, the Soviet delegation came up with its surprise proposals. The Russians hinted that they would abandon their demands only if British and French, as well as Italian colonies, were placed under the collective trusteeship of the United Nations Organization. Molotov knew that such a suggestion would be anathema to the British and French since it imperilled their empires. As a result, the colonial question was referred to the experts —a convenient way of temporarily bypassing important issues when no agreement seemed likely.

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There was an almost idyllic touch to the Council's first session. Like the Knights of King Arthur, the Foreign Ministers sat around the green baize table and lent a sympathetic ear to the boons requested by smaller nations formerly at war with Italy. Yugoslav demands, backed by Russia, were heaviest. From the African capitals of Cairo and Addis Ababa came Egyptian and Ethiopian demands for control of Eritrea. Together with Russian aspirations there, the number of nations interested in the undeveloped Italian colony stood at three. The Council of Foreign Ministers was evidently regarded as an international grab-bag.

An interesting development at the conference was the Russian insistence that the new Polish government and the Soviet republics of White Russia and the Ukraine be invited to express their views on Italy. Russia took this stand after the British dominions had been given the opportunity to have their say. Neither the new Polish government nor the Soviet Republics had been, officially, at war with Italy. Their participation in the conference strengthened Russia's hand.

The treaty to be drafted for Italy must decide the question of frontiers as well as colonies. Border settlements will have to be made with Yugoslavia, Austria and France, but the Italy - Yugoslav frontier is threatening to create the most friction, for Italian irredentism and Yugoslav nationalism are involved. It was in this border question that the division between eastern and western Europe was most sharply delineated.

The Anglo-American delegation proposed that the city of Trieste and its hinterland remain in Italian hands on condition that the port be internationalized. Fiume and Zara would be ceded to Yugoslavia to satisfy her aims. Yugoslav demands went far beyond the concessions that the United States and Britain were willing to make. They claimed the entire province of Venezia Giulia, including Trieste, Istria, Gorizia, Fiume, the islands of Cherse and Lussin, Zara and the Adriatic islands of Lagosta and Pelegosa. In all their demands, the Yugoslavs had the whole-hearted support of Russia. Contrasting these demands were the concessions the Italians were willing to make. Their views, outlined by Foreign Minister Alcide de Gasperi, who was called to London to speak for Italy, favored the Wilson line bisecting Istria as the boundary between Yugoslavia and Italy, guarantees for minorities in these areas, an autonomous Fiume, demilitarization of the whole Adriatic region and possible internationalization of the port of Trieste.

Twenty-six years ago, Italy was one of the Big Four powers of Europe. Yugoslavia, then called the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, had just emerged as a new nation on the international scene. This union of the south Slavs was viewed favorably by every one of the great powers, except Italy, who did not look happily on a united nation across the narrow Adriatic.

As a result of the first World War, Italy enlarged her borders to include the South Tyrol, the Trentine, Trieste and Istria, ceded to her by Austria in the Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye. Even these gains

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were considered inadequate and Italy felt that she had not been properly rewarded for her role in the war. Actually, she had agreed to enter the war only after England and France had agreed to satisfy her territorial ambitions. The Italians were outraged by their failure to secure control of Fiume and a larger part of the Dalmatian coast. In 1919, Italy's soldier-poet, Gabriele d'Annunzio, satisfied nationalist clamor by seizing Fiume. Five years later, Mussolini's Fascist government negotiated a treaty with Yugoslavia for the cession of the city to Italy. Yugoslav nationalism suffered a setback.

For Yugoslavia, the day of the turning tide has arrived. A victorious nation, she can count on the support of the most powerful nation on the continent—Russia. Italy, a defeated member of the Axis, is not in a position to bargain. Described by her Prime Minister as a "vanquished nation admitted (to the Council of Foreign Ministers) to defend its cause, not negotiate," Italy can rely only upon British and American opposition to the expansion of a nation closely connected with Russia. Britain is definitely known to disfavor the passing of Trieste from Italy to Yugoslavia.

While China and France generally voted with the United States and Great Britain, Russia, by disagreeing, brought the conference to an impasse because a unanimous vote was required on all important decisions.

A year ago, Britain was generally regarded as the nation that stood in the way of Italy's democratic reconstruction. The Churchill government's veto of Count Carlo Sforza's appointment as Foreign Minister evoked wide criticism within Italy and in diplomatic circles without. Charges that Britain was supporting the tottering monarchy distasteful to many Italians were heard.

On the other hand, Russia refrained from meddling in Italy's internal affairs. Communist views were voiced within Italy by communist leader Palmiro Togliatti. (As one of the strongest political parties in Italy, the Communists have received proportionate representation in the Cabinet.) In the international field, Russia was one of the first to accord diplomatic recognition to Italy after Italy had shaken off the fascist yoke. It was generally recognized that England and Russia had agreed to refrain from interfering in each other's sphere of influence in Europe — Russia in central Europe and most of the Balkans, England in Italy and Greece.

EFFECTS OF BRITISH ELECTION

A year later, the scene has changed. In Italy, the victory of British Socialists was favorably received and hopes for a change in attitude soared. Foreign Minister Bevin pleased the Italians by informing them that England did not intend to treat Italy as if Mussolini still were in power. Russia continues unconcerned with internal developments in Italy. Nevertheless, she is supporting the territorial demands of her protege, Yugoslavia, which can be satisfied only at Italy's expense. Russia is also demanding reparations amounting to $600,000,-

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000, though perfectly aware that this will leave Italy financially and economically prostrate. Russia will not forget that Italy was an enemy nation.

Both Italy and Yugoslavia are pawns in the international chess game. Each is being bulwarked by one or more of the great powers, not for altruistic purposes but for its value as a buffer state. Europe itself is falling victim to the scalpel bisecting it into two vital parts. A poet, looking at Europe today, might voice the fear that "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet."

Ironically enough, the preliminary meetings to work out the details of the United Nations Organization were in progress in London, at the same time that the Council met. Should the Big Five fail to agree on the peace terms for Germany, her allies and satellites, and should they split into two camps, the effectiveness of the United Nation's machinery would come to naught. It rests precariously on the unity of the five major powers.

An inkling of how rapidly a western bloc is forming can be found from the French rapprochement with Italy. Apparently willing to forget the stab in the back of 1940, France hopes to draw Italy into the western orbit. In a press statement, General de Gaulle declared: "The Netherlands, Belgium, Italy and western Germany, and in normal times, the Iberian Peninsula and others are naturally drawn toward economic and cultural cooperation with France and Britain. If this historical and traditional factor were disregarded, it would prove a source of unrest in Europe." The French Foreign Minister, Georges Bidault, hastened to modify the significance of this statement by emphasizing that it referred to western Europe as an economic unit and not as a political entity to be directed against another nation, namely Russia. Economic or political, a bloc is taking shape.

Thus, torn by conflicting demands and basic theories of method, the Council reached no agreement on Italy. For Italians this held out some hope of greater leniency in the future. Had a treaty been formulated at the opening session of the Council, it would have been harsh. Even the United States, Italy's greatest friend, had proposed a collective trusteeship that would have deprived Italy of all her colonies. As time passes, the memory of fascism's crimes will grow dim, and Italy may fare better, though her war guilt will by no means be lessened.

• Our definition of the week:
Europe: A collection of countries with chips on their shoulders and none on the table.

• A conference is a group of men who individually can do nothing, but as a group can meet and decide that nothing can be done.
—*The Postage Stamp*

• Today's great problem: how to cut the pattern of peace without having a few scraps left over.
—*Answers*

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Democracy cannot be forced upon or taught to an unwilling people

Indoctrinating Democracy?

By C. L. Thompson

THE first World War, in the words of Woodrow Wilson, was fought "to make the world safe for democracy." Sadly enough, the victory of the democratic Allies was followed within 20 years by the rise of hardy totalitarian systems: the Italian, the Russian, the German and countless smaller dictatorships. No such idealism flourished during the second World War, partly because ideological lines were confused by the alliance of the western democracies with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

In 1937, Winston Churchill, in a speech on the Spanish Civil War, made clear the fact that he classed both Nazism and communism as fundamentally undemocratic. He said:

"I have tried very sincerely to adopt a neutral attitude of mind in the Spanish quarrel; I refused to become the partisan of either side. I will not pretend that, if I had to choose between communism and Nazi-ism, I would choose communism. I hope not to be called upon to survive in the world under a government of either of those dispensations.

"It is not a question of opposing Nazi-ism or communism, but of opposing tyranny in whatever form it presents itself; and, as I do not find in either of these two Spanish factions which are at war any satisfactory guarantee that the ideas which I care about would be preserved, I am not able to throw myself in this headlong fashion into the risk of having to fire cannon immediately on the one or the other side of this trouble. I have found it easier to maintain this feeling of detachment from both sides because, before we give any help to either side we ought to know what the victory of that side would mean to those who are beaten. I can understand a British subject espousing the cause of General Franco or Senor Caballero, but what would be that man's remorse if he found that, after contributing to the victory of either side, a horrible vengeance was wreaked; perhaps for years, upon the vanquished? Certainly I do not feel that the House of Commons ought to take any decisive action either way without knowing what the consequences would be to those who were conquered as a result of any intervention in which we engaged. I cannot feel any enthusiasm for these rival creeds. I feel unbounded sorrow and sympathy for the victims, but to give a decisive punch either way, without making sure that the result of it would not be to make ourselves responsible for a subsequent catalogue of foul atrocities, would be a responsibility which no one in the House ought willingly to accept."

At that time Mr. Churchill was not powerful either in his party or in the country. He was not called on

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to change his opinion or his official stand until Germany marched into Russia, while Britain waited for a cross-Channel invasion. On June 22, 1941, within 24 hours of the German attack on Russia he said,

"Any man or state who fights against Nazi-ism will have our aid. Any man or state who marches with them is our foe. . . . It follows therefore that we shall give whatever help we can to Russia and the Russian people. We shall appeal to all our friends and Allies in every part of the world to take the same course and pursue it as we shall, painfully and steadfastly to the end . . ."

Then in May, 1944, he said:

"As this war has progressed it has become less ideological in my opinion . . .

"I see that in some quarters I am expected today to lay out quite plainly and decisively, the future plan of world organization, and also to set the Atlantic Charter in its exact and true relation to subsequent declarations and current events. It is easier to ask such questions than to answer them. We are working with thirty-three United Nations and, in particular, with two great Allies who, in some forms of power, far exceed the British Empire. Taking everything into consideration, including men and money, war effort, expanse of territory, we can claim to be an equal to those great Powers, but not, in my view, a superior. It would be a great mistake for me, as head of the British government, or, I may add—speaking to this Committee as a most respected institution—the Grand Alliance, or for the House, to take it upon ourselves, to lay down the law to all those different countries, including the two great Powers with which we have to work, if the world is to be brought back into good condition."

Nonetheless, countless critics have cried shame on Allied policy toward Italy, Germany, Japan, not to mention Spain. To many Americans, the victorious end of the war was to provide an opportunity to spread the gospel of democracy to the unenlightened. The retention of the King of Italy and the Emperor of Japan indicates to them that we are "losing the peace." Yet in spite of loose thinking and loose talking about bestowing democracy on the vanquished it seems highly improbable that *political democracy* as we know it can be imposed on any nation.

DEFINITIONS

Political democracy can be defined as a *philosophy* or as a *form of government*. As a way of life, or as a philosophy, it is predicated on the assumption that human beings are capable of reason and choice, and that as reasonable human beings, individuals are the vital and all-important elements of society. In the eyes of democracy's supporters, the society, the government and the state exist for the benefit of the individual.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The society cannot be conceived other than as the total of its individual members: the concept that the group has an organic existence *of itself* and is greater than the sum

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of its members is diametrically opposed to democratic philosophy as here defined.

Democracy as a *form of government* is a logical expression of democratic philosophy. A democratic form of government, according to modern western thinking, involves some form of representation of the individuals who make up the political group. Such representation may be either direct, as in the New England town-meeting, or indirect, through the election of people's representatives who in turn make and administer the laws governing the group. Because the complexities of modern society often make direct representation unwieldy and impractical, indirect representation, in either a parliamentary or a presidential form of government, has become the more or less standard pattern of western political democracy.

VARYING CONCEPTS

It must not be forgotten that the American and British conceptions of "Democracy" differ in vital respects from the eastern European and Asiatic concepts. In a recent article, the Belgrade newspaper *Borba* pointed out that there are three types of democracy: western, Soviet, and Bulgarian popular democracy. In eastern Europe, for example, freedom of the press, which we consider vital to representative government, is described as "freedom to deceive the masses and lead them astray." "A conception of democracy where anything can be written does not accord with our democratic spirit," asserts *Borba*.

Western democracy is therefore attacked not only by totalitarian critics but by our Allies who freely assert their right to their own form of government and believe this more democratic than ours. In Russia, for example, the state sets out to divide more nearly equally the proceeds of industry. This, of course, is a completely different concept of democracy, because in the attempt to attain it Russia has been willing to sacrifice not only a free press in our sense but also free speech and opposing political parties. The very notion that western democracy can be a blessing to the rest of the world is a complacent assumption that our form of government is the "right" or "best" form for all the peoples of the earth. This assumption can be maintained only as an article of faith. As a reasonable working hypothesis all we can claim is that western democracy is the best form of government we have found. Edmond Burke once said:

"I am not one of those who think that the people are never wrong. They have been so, frequently and outrageously, both in other countries and in this. But I do say that in all disputes between them and their rulers the presumption is at least upon a par in favor of the people."

Based on our belief in the importance of the individual, we can with justice assert that the best safeguard of any individual's self-interest is himself and that therefore government representative of all individuals in a society is most likely to safeguard the interest of each individual. (This theory leads to the belief in equal representation.)

It seems most unlikely that a form of government based on this political theory can be forced on any society. The concept of "force" it-

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self is here a contradiction in terms, since political democracy is based on the will of the people. Disregarding logical inconsistency, it is still pertinent to inquire as to the ability (or good faith) of those "imposing" democracy from above. Neither the colonial administration of Great Britain nor the Latin American policy of the United States would fit easily into the definition of democracy here outlined. In its treatment of Japanese-American citizens during the war the government of the United States made little pretense of following democratic patterns. No real believer in democracy could admire the War Relocation Work Corps enlistment forms that Japanese-American citizens were forced to sign before they were permitted to work for the government of the United States.

"I swear loyalty to the United States and enlist in the War Relocation Work Corps for the duration of the war and 14 days thereafter in order to contribute to the needs of the nation and in order to earn a livelihood for myself and my dependents. I will accept whatever pay, unspecified at the present time, the War Relocation Authority determines, and I will observe all rules and regulations.

"In doing this I understand that I shall not be entitled to any cash or allowances beyond the wages due me at the time of discharge from the work corps; that I may be transferred from one relocation center to another by the War Relocation Authority; that medical care will be provided but that I cannot make any claim against the United States for any injury or disease acquired by me while in the Works Corps; that I shall be subject to special assessments for educational, medical and other community service as may be provided for the support of any dependents who reside in a relocation center; that I shall be financially responsible for the full value of any government property that I use while in the work corps; and that the infraction of any regulations of the War Relocation Authority will render me liable to trial and suitable punishment. So help me God."

Quis custodiet ipso custodes? How, with this as our record, can we justify the assumption that the United States or the collective United Nations can bring democracy to Germany or Japan?

The philosophy of democracy presupposes, moreover, the ability of every individual to reason and to exercise free choice, regardless of his environment. According to social psychologists, however, individuals in any society make social adjustments consonant with their early training and discipline, which in turn are dictated by the customs of the society in which they live.

A democratic form of government actually represents merely one type of adjustment between individuals. Early tribal systems and patriarchies represented different ways of promoting a harmonious community and were accompanied by very different philosophies. Where life is cheap and violent death is the rule, the sanctity of every individual's life is not at all obvious. In the bitter cold behind the Ural Mountains of Russia, for example, human life was consistently sacrificed, not brutally but unconcernedly, in the zeal to build up an industrial reservoir for the young Soviet Russia. Poor natural re-

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sources, enervating climate and overpopulation have resulted in the oriental religions of Hinduism and Buddhism in most of Asia. According to these religious philosophies, the highest form of religion is the denial of individual personality: in Heaven the individual becomes absorbed into the all-embracing soul of the universe. The only hope of the individual is to lose his identity: this is a far cry from the democratic individualism of Western Christian society.

STABILITY vs. DEMOCRACY

Seventeenth century democrats believed that stability was the antithesis of progress. At that time Oliver Cromwell declared:

"We shall have our people driven into wilderness, as they were, when these poor and afflicted people, that forsook their estates and inheritances here, where they lived plentifully and comfortably, for the enjoyment of their liberty, were necessitated to go into a waste howling wilderness in New England;—where they have, for liberty's sake, stript themselves of all their comfort and the full enjoyment they had, embracing rather loss of friends and want than be so ensnared in bondage."

Yet some peoples and some societies value stability and security most highly. Judged in terms of stability, democracy as a way of life is far from perfect. According to Professor Kardiner of Columbia University (*The Psychological Frontiers of Society*).

"Democracy, which we value so highly, is a very unstable form of organization—under some conditions like a contracting economy, whereas during an expanding economy (like the frontier stage) the tensions are readily absorbed. Feudalism, to us a most undesirable type of organization, had a much higher degree of stability than democracy, while it was supported by a hidden theocracy and while social well-being was not considered a goal to be pursued by everyone, and while status lines were fixed and not questioned."

In any society where material goods and well-being are so limited that it is impractical to encourage all to share them, it is highly practical for the fortunate few to work out a method for subjugating the unfortunate many. Political democracy, in the Anglo-American sense, first developed in revolt against a combination of the Church and State which had united to subjugate the individual. This alliance had made the position of the king and the clergy stable, and the revolt unsettled not only king and clergy but also those dependent on them.

Political democracy will always tend to unsettle privileged classes. It therefore starts most easily and flourishes best in a frontier society when it is really least needed. This explains why democracy has made such great strides in Australia and so little progress in India.

HISTORY OF THE JUNKERS

Group custom and philosophy built up over a long period and therefore accepted by the group may be completely out of harmony with democratic ideology. The history of the Prussian Junker illustrates the vital role that climate, economic opportunity and educational progress play in determining the social philosophy of any group.

East Prussia, with its long bitter

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winters, poor soil and agriculture based on rye, oats, flax and potatoes, belongs geographically to eastern Europe. Culturally also East Prussia is essentially eastern European, with a strong feudal system of landowners and peasant workers still flourishing. A. Griswold Whitney ("The Junkers, Hostages to the Past," *Virginia Quarterly Review,* vol. 19, No. 3) describes them as a "caste imprisoned in its own archaic economy and social system, a caste not lacking in western virtues and enlightenment but which, for all that, forms a source of the spirit that holds the German people down and back. This is the spirit of feudalism; and feudalism and economic democracy and responsible self-government cannot exist side by side."

It is not within the scope of this article to discuss in detail the various reasons for Prussian feudalism and militarism. Professor Ellsworth Huntington of Yale, in his new book *Mainsprings of Civilization,* shows that both biological inheritance and environment contribute to the social make-up of a group.

In the case of Prussia, he points out that rigorous selection, due to famine, pestilence and continuous war against the "heathen," has resulted in a strong and dominating Prussian "microkith." Junker families who were unable to maintain their lands were soon eliminated. Primogeniture combined with intermarriage was the means of holding and enlarging estates. Thus the selective process was maintained. Because of the Prussians' fighting ability, they came to play an important part in the German army. This influence, coupled with their wealth, led the Junkers to strong control over the administration, finance and educational system of Germany.

Huntington's theory counters the belief that German militarism is merely an outgrowth of economic and geographic difficulties and that therefore democratic education and economic improvement will speedily bring western democracy to the German people. This does not mean that the Germans or the Prussian Junkers are racially or inherently militarists. It means, however, that geographic and economic conditions over a long period combined to act as a selective process, putting a premium on the strong Prussian Junker type that has dominated Germany for the past hundred years. No educational system imposed from an alien culture will successfully force democracy on such a society.

Whether or not economic imperialism is the cause for colonial policies, the above line of argument has been used for years by the British in explaining their Indian policy and by the United States in granting Philippine independence. It would seem no less valid in relation to forcing democratic philosophy on the far better educated and more advanced people of Japan or Germany.

The question immediately arises: even if democratic philosophy *per se* cannot be forced on our recent enemies, can we not set them up with democratic governments? Will political democratic philosophy follow as a matter of course? Although logically democratic government follows democratic philosophy, it must not be forgotten that certain social groups, such as the Arab nomads and the Comanche Indians, established democratic forms of government

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very early and developed a sort of democraaic philosophy very late, if at all. Yet it must be realized that the democratic organization of such groups flourished because it was a practical organization for their societies. No such organization is found among Asiatic Indians, the Alorese, or other primitive groups where a severely contracted economy would have made democracy dangerous (to security) and unstable.

The difficulty of forcing a democratic system requiring participation on an unwilling people seems insurmountable. The mere imposition of a "democratic constitution" is no guarantee of political democracy, even if a small democratic group will support such a constitution. Those who want to bring democracy to Germany, Japan or even Russia overlook the vital fact that large masses of people in these countries may favor the existing form of government.

(In the next issue the author will discuss the difficulty of transplanting any *form of government* from one group to another.)

Why the Council of Foreign Ministers failed

Peace-making in 1919 and 1945

By Sidney B. Fay

Professor of History, Harvard University

DID we learn anything from the experience and mistakes of peace-making at Paris which served as a valuable guide at Potsdam and London? It is difficult to give a decisive answer. The methods of 1945 theoretically were better in many respects than the methods in 1919, but the results, to date, seem to be less and worse. How is this paradox to be explained? Chiefly by the very different circumstances which faced the negotiators in each case.

In 1919 a German government had been set up and was functioning in spite of its many difficulties. After the suppression of the communist revolts of 1918-19, there was no serious danger of chaos in Germany. The victors could safely spend seven months in working out the main peace terms for a great many countries, as well as for Germany, before she was officially informed of the terms to be imposed on her. They knew that the Weimar Assembly, having been duly elected by the German people on a most democratic basis, had adequate authority to sign the peace terms.

It was quite otherwise in 1945. With the Nazi defeat, the surrender of the German troops, the suicide or disappearance of Hitler and many Nazi leaders, the whole framework of government suddenly collapsed and vanished, leaving the Allies holding the bag. To prevent complete chaos the Allied command-

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ers had to take over immediately the government of the country, first by the different Allied armies, and then by their military governments in the four zones—Russian, British, American, French—into which Germany was eventually divided. This was the purpose of the details set forth in the Allied Declaration of June 5, 1945. Arrangements had to be made at once to establish some kind of cooperation and coordination among the victors, as well as to proceed as quickly as possible to the de-Nazification and demilitarization of the country, since a German government no longer existed.

To make preliminary arrangements at once, President Truman, Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden (soon replaced by Mr. Clement R. Attlee and Ernest Bevin as a result of the British parliamentary elections) and Marshal Stalin met in conference at Potsdam between July 17 and August 2.

The Paris Peace Conference was bedevilled by the secret treaties which had been made during World War I. President Wilson, however, had not signed any of these treaties, and for the most part refused to recognize them or let the Conference be bound by them. At Potsdam, likewise, secret promises, made by Churchill and Roosevelt to Stalin to satisfy or appease him at a time when Britain and the United States were still involved in the desperate double war against both Germany and Japan, came up for implementation. These secret promises affected very vitally and unfortunately the Allied terms imposed on Germany.

The worst of these secret understandings, presumably agreed to at Yalta or earlier, was that Germany should be deprived of all her territory east of the Oder and Neisse rivers. This was revealed in the Allied Potsdam Declaration of August 2. The home of Germany's greatest philosopher, Immanuel Kant, and about half the adjoining province of East Prussia were transferred to the Soviet Union. All the rest of the German territory east of the Oder was handed over to the Poles to compensate them for their loss of the eastern half of Poland (east of the so-called Curzon Line) which Stalin had invaded and annexed in 1939. As to her other boundaries, Germany was very properly deprived of all the lands which Hitler had wrongfully annexed in 1938-39.

Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons on August 17, said: "I must put on record my own opinion that the provisional western frontier agreed upon for Poland (in the Potsdam Declaration), comprising as it does one quarter of the arable land of Germany, is not a good augury for the future." This is certainly a masterly understatement.

Something, to be sure, might be said in favor of giving Poland Upper Silesia with its coal, other minerals and industrial equipment. It would help build up Poland as a strong industrial state for defense against Germany, and would correspondingly weaken Germany's war potential. Likewise the transfer of part of East Prussia to Poland might be defended as the only satisfactory means of avoiding the unfortunate arrangement of 1919 by which the Reich territory was cut apart by the Pol-

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ish Corridor. But to give Poland, in addition, the agricultural districts of Lower Silesia and the parts of Brandenburg and Pomerânia east of the Oder, which are pure German in population and vital for Germany's food supply, is most unwise. It is certain to make more serious trouble for the future, both for Germany and for the peace and recovery of Europe. It will add a new element to the undying hatred between Poles and Germans, and from Poland's own point of view is really very shortsighted, since it will make her more dependent than ever on the Soviet Union for her safety.

Depriving Germany of such a great slice of her eastern lands is a far more grave mistake than Bismarck's unwise annexation of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871—which was one of the underlying causes of World War I. Alsace-Lorraine had less than a quarter of the population in the German territories east of the Oder. In Alsace-Lorraine the great majority of the population spoke German or a dialect of German, and for many centuries had been a part of Germany before being annexed by the French in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They were not uprooted and transferred to France after 1871. But in the present case the populations involved are German and have never spoken Polish. They are being uprooted from homes that their ancestors have occupied for centuries and transferred to the west of the Oder. Such a monstrous transfer exceeds in extent even Hitler's iniquitous and cruel forced transfers of population.

Well might Mr. Churchill be "particularly concerned with reports reaching us of conditions under which the expulsion and exodus of Germans from new Poland have been carried out. Between 8,000,000 and 9,000,000 persons dwelt in these regions before the war . . . . Enormous numbers are unaccounted for. Where have they gone and what is their fate? . . . It is not impossible that tragedy on a prodigious scale is imposing itself behind the iron curtain which at present divides Europe in twain."

HOW CAN GERMANY BE FED?

Though this transferred territory east of the Oder contained only about one-seventh of Germany's prewar population, it produced more than a quarter of her home-grown food supply: 31 per cent of her rye and potatoes, which were the two main sources of food; about 24 per cent of her barley, oats and wheat; 29 per cent of her sugar beets; about 20 per cent of her cattle, pigs and milk, which are vital food fats; and about 22 per cent of her sheep and 29 per cent of her geese.

Cut off from this normal food supply, it is difficult to see how the Germans west of the Oder can be fed, even on a greatly reduced standard of living. They will be forced to starve, or else must be fed with food supplied by the Allies. But how long will the Allies be willing to send food? Before the war Germany imported a good deal of her food. But if she is also prevented by the reparations terms from manufacturing a great many goods for export, she will no longer be able to pay for imported food stuffs.

The food situation is made even

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worse by two other factors. The part of Germany in the Russian military zone was also mainly agricultural land and formed a very important part of Germany's bread basket. Its produce used to be shipped westward to feed the rest of industrial Germany. But the Russians show no inclination to continue this policy. They are shipping the rye and potatoes and other food products to the east.

Furthermore, about 80 per cent of Germany's potash deposits lie in the parts of Saxony and Thuringia which are in the Russian military zone. Potash is indispensable as the basis of vital agricultural fertilizers. Before the war these potash fields not only supplied all Germany with the needed fertilizers, but Germany exported potash to Denmark, the Netherlands, Britain and other countries to an annual value of some 35,000,000 marks. They helped pay for her food imports. But again the Russians seem not inclined to allow the Germans outside their zone to have the potash or to use it as part of their export trade.

GERMAN REPARATIONS

In one respect, at least, 1919 taught a lesson that was heeded in 1945—the folly of trying to exact vast reparations in money, or reckoned in money, to be paid for three generations to come. The Potsdam Declaration of August 2 provides that reparations are to be paid, not in money, but in physical assets, mainly industrial machinery and equipment. These are to be removed from Germany and handed over to the Allies within six years.

One purpose in this is to take from Germany everything in the way of equipment which might help her prepare for another war. Another purpose is to help her devastated victims bring about their own economic recovery, become strong industrial nations and have a standard of living equal to, or exceeding, that of Germany.

At Potsdam Stalin was awarded the lion's share of reparations. Russia was to get all the reparations available from her eastern zone, and also the German assets in Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Finland and eastern Austria. She was also to get 25 per cent of the reparations machinery to be taken from the American, British and French military zones — 10 per cent without payment, and 15 per cent to be paid for in coal, food and other raw materials. Out of her share she was supposed to satisfy Poland's claims for reparations. What is left of reparations in the other three zones is to be taken by the United States, Britain and France, who are to satisfy the claims of the other United Nations. These smaller nations are not pleased at the prospect of what they are likely to get.

Russia lost no time in seizing industrial machinery by way of reparations even before the Potsdam Conference. Even before the war ended, she carried off from Rumania the greater part of the petroleum refining machinery, including equipment that belonged to American firms. After the end of hostilities she began making a clean sweep of everything from her zone in Germany and from Berlin, which was placed under the joint control of the Big Four.

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The Russian idea seemed to be to take away every possible kind of machinery and office equipment, no matter to whom it belonged and no matter what its condition.

In their zone the Russians have also converted many of the railways from the standard (4 ft. 8½ in.) gauge to the Russian broad (5 ft.) gauge, thus treating their zone as if it were economically an integral part of the Soviet Union and not part of Germany. One of thes new broad gauge lines runs straight through Berlin, so that Stalin was able to travel in a Russian car, without change, from Moscow to Potsdam.

Thus, by being forced to make reparations by the delivery of a very large part of her industrial equipment, Germany is to be reduced from a predominantly industrial to a largely agricultural country. It is more or less the amazing plan advocated by the amazing Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Jr. It is also the cruel plan more or less practiced by Hitler in the countries which he conquered and forced into his "New Order."

Whether such industries as Germany is allowed to keep will afford sufficient employment for a population which has hitherto been largely ndustrial, whether these industries will afford enough goods for export to pay for the food and raw materials which Germany will have to import, whether there is enough arable land to support the dense population, especially in the three western zones, s more than doubtful. Moreover, he rest of Europe would suffer greatly if it could not get a considerable part of the German manufactures on which it used formerly o depend.

Realizing these facts, it is interesting to note, a group of 35 eminent American engineering experts published on September 28 a plan for a more common-sense treatment of German industry. Their plan provides effectively for destroying all German industries which might conceivably be used to build up again her war potential, but leaves Germany the rest of her necessary industries. As they say in their report: "Elimination of German industries, leaving agriculture as the sole occupation, would produce an economic dislocation and social chaos of destructive magnitude, and not alone in Germany but throughout Europe. Adequate enforcement would be practically impossible. Furthermore, severe restrictions of this nature probably would be repudiated in a relatively short time, resulting in an aftermath similar to that following World War I." The details of their report are too long to be summarized here, but they have been presented to the American State, War and Navy Departments, and it is to be hoped that they will have some effect before it is too late—before the reparations policy, at least in the American, British and French military zones, is carried out in an extreme form.

In 1919 the peace-makers tried to deal all at once with all the multifarious problems — formation of a League of Nations, boundary disputes, reparations, colonies, protection of minorities, etc. It was too great a task. Some of the work was done in haste and badly done. Tempers were frayed. Patience was exhausted, and, at the end, the dele-

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gates were ready to adopt almost any kind of a settlement in order to finish up the business and get home. The experience of 1919 seemed to indicate that it would be wiser to make piece-meal settlements by different groups working more at leisure.

In 1945, therefore, it was probably wiser for Truman, Stalin and the British to deal with the main aspects of the German problem at Potsdam, leaving the other European peace questions to be dealt with by the Council of Foreign Ministers. Meanwhile a third great problem, the carrying forward of the United Nations Organization, which had already been formed at Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco, was left to still another body — the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission working in London under Mr. Stettinius.

The Council of Foreign Ministers was created by the Potsdam Declaration of August 2. It was composed of the foreign secretaries of the Big Five: Secretary of State James F. Byrnes of the United States, Ernest Bevin of Britain, Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotov of Russia and Foreign Ministers Georges Bidault and Wang Shih-tse of France and China respectively. These five men, with their deputies and experts, met in London on September 11.

The main task of the Council of Ministers was to draw up, with a view to their submission to the United Nations, treaties of peace with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland, and to propose settlements of territorial questions outstanding on the termination of war in Europe. In each case, the country concerned was to be represented before the Council and thus able to state its case. Other members of the United Nations would be invited to participate for study and discussion of matters directly concerning them.

The Council met repeatedly for three weeks to the end of September, but made very little progress in accomplishing its arduous task. Mr. Molotov skillfully and persistently set forth Russian demands, but mostly found himself in a minority of one. Since unanimity was required for positive accomplishment, his attitude blocked agreement on most proposals made by the British and Americans. The treaty with Italy was wrecked over the dispute as to whether Italy or Yugoslavia should have Trieste and the adjacent territory, and over the problem of what should be done with the former Italian colonies, as well as over Molotov's demand that Russia have a share in the administration of Eritrea or some other lands in the eastern Mediterranean area which lies within Britain's special sphere of interest. Some of these questions were finally referred for further study to the deputies of the Council of Ministers.

A satisfactory treaty with Finland was agreed upon. But treaties with Rumania and Bulgaria could not be arranged because Molotov insisted on excluding France from participation in this discussion, ostensibly since France had not been at war with these two countries, and more important, because Britain and the United States did not regard their governments as demo-

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cratic and deserving of diplomatic recognition. Though the meetings of the Council of Ministers were secret, enough leaked out or was indicated in scanty official communiques and press conferences to show that many other questions were taken up, argued and then dropped or side-stepped because of the clash of views between Molotov on one side and the rest of the foreign ministers on the other side.

"DEMOCRACY"

One of the reasons for the practical failure of the Council of Foreign Ministers was the same as that which caused difficulties and delays at Paris in 1919—lack of adequate preparation and discussion beforehand. A far more important reason was the basic difference between 1919 and 1945 in the matter of ideology. At Paris all the delegates of the 27 nations had more or less the same basic ideology. They had been trained in the same nineteenth century diplomacy of give-and-take. They had more or less the same ethical standards. They understood one another because words had the same meaning to all. Metaphorically they "spoke the same language."

Today, however, this is not the case. The Russian ideology is fundamentally different from that of the West. In the totalitarian states, unfortunately, words like "democracy" and "freedom of the press" have actually, or are made to have, a totally different meaning from what they have in Anglo-Saxon countries.

Stalin, Molotov and the Soviet press insist that in Russia and under the puppet regimes which Russia set up during the war in Poland, the Baltic States, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary, there is real "democracy." They maintain that these regimes already represent the will of the people.

Britain and the United States, on the other hand, cannot accept this interpretation. They know that these regimes (except Hungary, which is now recognized as being a little more democratic than the others) were set up by one-party communist organizations, sponsored and protected by the Red Armies and the Soviet police. Persons opposed to the Russian ideology were often deported or arrested before the farcical elections took place. No parties were permitted to propose and vote for candidates except the puppets of the one-party communist organization. For this reason Britain and the United States could not give recognition to the existing governments in Rumania and Bulgaria, and therefore the Council of Ministers could not arrange peace treaties with them. Before that can be done, new, unfettered and free elections must provide for really democratic governments in the Anglo-Saxon sense.

• "Park Avenue is Timid in Debut
At Paper-Throwing for Heroes."
"Amateur Analyst of Confetti Says, However, Something New Was Added for Nimitz as He Detects Scraps of Pre-War Slip."
—*New York Times*

Nothing like getting down to fundamentals.

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Battle lines are drawn in the coming tax fight

Tax Relief for Business

By Alzada Comstock

Professor of Economics, Mount Holyoke College

IN the struggle that has been going on since V-J Day to get the earliest and the largest tax reductions from Congress, corporations have been consistently pitted against individuals, producers against consumers, management against labor and high income groups against low income groups. The fact that these classes overlap and make up, in the last analysis, one great aggregation of individuals who feel the impact of all taxes levied in the United States has been no deterrent to the drawing of sharp lines around pressure groups.

Large business, which is almost wholly in the corporate form, has had two advantages in presenting its case: the excellence of its organization and the simplicity with which its demands can be presented. It consistently asks for the repeal of the excess profits tax and the reduction of taxes on corporate income, and, though less urgently, for the elimination of the capital stock tax and the declared value excess profits tax.

In anticipation of Congressional action on the Treasury proposals made public on October 1, efforts of business to secure tax reductions were translated into definite proposals soon after the surrender of Japan. One of the most inclusive possible groupings announced its existence early in September, when the setting up of a permanent clearing-house conference to present a common tax revision program was publicized by a group of manufacturing, wholesaling, retailing and related organizations. The list included the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Committee for Economic Development, the American Retail Federation, the Small Business Advisory Committee, the Associated State Chambers of Commerce and the Tax Foundation.

The attainment of unity by the tax experts drawn from these organizations will, if it can be demonstrated, be an achievement. The conditions of regular membership are simple enough: responsible connection with the respective organizations and activity in the study of taxation "especially as it affects business and industrial progress." But it is conceivable that retailers might put heavy emphasis upon repeal of excises and opposition to sales taxes while large producers would consistently work first for the repeal of the excess profits tax.

When the National Retail Dry Goods Association sent its 15 recommendations to Chairman Walter F. George of the Senate Finance Committee and Chairman Robert L. Doughton of the House Ways and

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Means Committee in mid-September, however, no sharp differences with producing interests were apparent. Although the Association opposed the retention of any excises except those on liquor and tobacco as deterrents to sales and therefore to business activity and demanded reductions in personal income taxes, it asked also for the repeal of the excess profits tax as of January 1, 1946, and the lowering of the corporation income tax.

The most impressive of the completed proposals for post-war tax revision has been that prepared by Roswell Magill, former Under-Secretary of the Treasury, and other specialists in behalf of the Committee on Post-War Tax Policy under a grant from the Falk Foundation. The report, which was 16 months in preparation and is nearly 300 pages in length, is called "A Tax Program for a Solvent America." In addition to Mr. Magill, the committee included Fred R. Fairchild, Professor of Economics at Yale University, Rowland R. Hughes, Controller of the National City Bank of New York, Victor H. Stempf, President of the American Institute of Accounts, and Thomas A. Tarlieu, former tax legislation counsel of the Treasury Department. Professor Harley L. Lutz of Princeton University and the Tax Foundation directed the research work.

The Magill report surveys the whole field of taxation and as much of federal expenditure as is needful for clarifying the argument. A marked interest in and emphasis upon the tax problems of incorporated business is, however, apparent. Believing that "this country has a great capacity for continued economic growth and development," the writers lay stress upon such revisions of the tax system as will, in their opinion, assist the expansion of free enterprise and give freedom to corporations to make financial decisions with respect to the use of earnings.

The committee takes the obvious but frequently neglected view that tax reductions must depend upon the volume and rate of reductions in federal expenditures. They state flatly that "expenditures are the key, and irresponsible fiscal policies in the post-war period would prove not merely costly, but unsupportable." This is in contrast to many of the pronouncements by representatives of both business and consumer groups, who are impulsively advocating large tax cuts for their own special interests without reference to the basic budgetary position and its effect upon the very groups they represent.

In the Magill report the proposals are set forth for two periods: the transitional period, which is expected to last two or three years, and the long-range period. For the transitional period the committee recommends the repeal of the excess profits tax, the gradual reduction of corporate income taxes with a lower rate for small corporations, and the dropping of the capital stock tax and the declared value excess profits tax. For individuals the repeal of the three per cent normal tax is recommended.

The long-range program includes the elimination of the surtax on corporate income and the ultimate adoption of the same rate as that of the initial tax on personal incomes. Personal incomes would be greatly re-

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duced, but the exact rates would depend upon the level of government expenditures.

A somewhat similar tax reduction program was made public at the end of September by the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York. This organization also recommends adjustment to expenditures, which should be greatly reduced, and envisages a transitional and a long-term period. The Chamber urges the repeal of the excess profits tax for 1946, advocates the progressive reduction of the corporate normal tax and surtax, opposes double taxation of dividends and offers detailed recommendations for the reduction of personal income taxes. It argues that the best avenue to high levels of business activity and employment is a low level of taxes.

It is not remarkable that the programs offered by these important organizations and by agencies associated more or less directly with them in the period between V-J Day and the presentation of the Treasury program should reflect a virtual unanimity of opinion with respect to the repeal of the excess profits tax and the reduction of corporate income taxes. The former is a war-time measure which is a control as well as a revenue-producer, and its demise is almost as confidently expected as it is urgently desired. As for the reduction of corporate income taxes, it is an axiom that the pursuer of any form of economic activity wants taxes applicable to that activity reduced. The variations in emphasis on personal income taxes and on consumers' taxes seems to reflect different degrees of comprehension of the effect of such taxes on the volume of consumer demand and hence on business activity in general.

Cohesion, vigor and apparent simplicity are the outstanding characteristics of the tax reduction programs offered by business interests. No other great group in the American economy, least of all the consumers, have been able to present so consistent a case. Consumers lack an effective organization, and they are perhaps frustrated by the fact that their activities overlap those of producer groups in a most confusing fashion. The two major labor groups have the necessary well-knit organization, but they have failed to make use of it in early, constructive and forceful presentation of tax proposals. Instead, they have shown signs of waiting for the opportunity to oppose tax revision programs offered by other interests.

VINSON'S PROGRAM

When Secretary of the Treasury Vinson presented his transitional tax reduction program to the House Ways and Means Committee on October 1, he gave extended consideration to the excess profits tax, the repeal of which he advocated. Arguing that "tax reduction for 1946 should be designed to afford the maximum aid and stimulus to reconversion and expansion that is compatible with our revenue needs," he said that the excess profits tax was in a class by itself in its relation to post-war business expansion. He reminded the committee that as Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion he had urged the repeal of the tax in his report of July 1, 1945.

The loss in revenue to the Treasury, a consideration of which the

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Secretary must ever be mindful, will not be too serious. The Treasury estimate of the yield for 1946 is $2,555,000,000, or about one-half of the $5,000,000,000 which the Treasury is prepared to sacrifice through immediate legislation. The net yield of the tax has not been as large as its apparent yield, since if the excess profits tax did not apply, the corporation normal tax and surtaxes would be applicable.

Secretary Vinson went on to say that it is not as a revenue-producer that the tax is usually judged, but as a control measure for the prevention of war profiteering. Since it is the administration's policy to remove all war-time controls as rapidly as conditions permit, the argument is strong for eliminating the excess profits tax. The choice of the date, December 31, 1945, was made because war profits are expected to persist through 1945, while the calendar year 1946 should have a definitely peace-time character, and because the end of the year is convenient for most corporations and for the Treasury.

One of the Secretary's basic reasons for asking for the repeal of the excess profits tax is, as he said emphatically on October 1, the fact that it is an obstacle to that reconversion and expansion of business which is necessary for a high level of employment and income. He accepted the testimony of business men that they are unable to take the risk of full peace-time expansion until the tax is removed, and re-inforced it with his own view that the tax is an erratic measure of excess profits in normal times. Furthermore, in spite of Congress' repeated efforts to improve the law, it remains defective in that either method of computation allowed to the corporation works comparative hardship on recently established concerns.

Certain public misapprehensions about the tax were corrected in Mr. Vinson's exposition. Although it is often assumed that the problem of excess profits taxation is synonymous with that of big business, and although a much larger percentage of very large corporations than of small corporations has been paying the tax, in 1943 over 70 per cent of the corporations subject to excess profits tax had incomes of less than $100,000. If the present tax were continued in 1946, with the increased exemption in effect, about one-half of the corporations paying the tax would have incomes of less than $100,000.

Not all of the very large corporations, on the other hand, pay excess profits taxes. In 1943, the last year for which full analysis is available, one-third of the corporations with incomes of more than $1,000,000 did not pay excess profits taxes. Repeal of the tax would therefore give relief, not simply to "big business," but to corporations of all sizes.

Finally, the Secretary of the Treasury said that the repeal of the excess profits tax would meet the two tests that he had set up for tax revision at this time. They were that the changes "should contribute to a vital, invigorated peace-time economy" and that "they should be fair in themselves and should, in so far as possible, remedy present inequities."

Mr. Vinson failed to recommend the reduction of corporate income

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taxes so generally requested by spokesmen for corporations in the weeks preceding. The complexities of the corporate income taxes and surtaxes are so great that they would probably overwhelm a Congress which must give rapid and provisional treatment in these early stages of tax reduction. Probably a drastic downward revision of these taxes, which are large revenue-producers, would so harm the federal revenue in the face of the continuing large expenditures which the Secretary of the Treasury envisages that immediate change is unwise. On the other hand, the repeal of the three per cent normal tax on individual incomes which Mr. Vinson recommended at this time would cost the Treasury only a little more than $2,000,000,000, and the dropping of the war excises on July 1, 1946, only one-fourth as much.

Lines of support and opposition were pretty well defined when the Secretary of the Treasury sent his statement to the House Ways and Means Committee. Republicans tended to find the relief to business enterprise inadequate, although the repeal of the excess profits tax met a wide demand to which many members of the party were responsive. Labor unions and farm organizations showed signs of opposing the repeal of the excess profits tax, using the argument of discrimination and figures showing recent large profits.

Little can be done about the fact that cleavages which follow political or economic lines tend to become increasingly superficial as the heat of argument rises. It is not generally comprehended, for example, that taxes which are levied on business concerns are not necessarily paid, in the long run, by the business itself. Many are, in fact, actually passed along until in one way or another they affect purchasers of the products of industry. The programs for the tax relief of business presented since V-J Day have dealt less with such subtleties than with an almost emotional appeal for aid for free enterprise in the changing circumstances of the post-war period.

The psychological effect of tax remissions is therefore an important matter for legislators. Shortsighted in many ways as the recent discussion of business taxation has been, neglectful of the repercussions of taxes, rich in pronouncements which take little account of long-run fiscal needs and policy, it has at least served to outline sharply the state of the public temper; a state to which members of Congress must pay close attention if they value their seats.

Luckily the tax program under consideration is transitional. Every prolonged tax discussion through which this country has passed has left a residue of improved comprehension of the intricate problems involved. This dress rehearsal for the long-range program should give time for a more thorough analysis of the community effects of taxes imposed on business and for greater discrimination in their use.

• A Japanese civilian in his efforts to give suitable welcome to the first American ship to tie up at the Tokyo docks, flung his arms wide with a flourish, bowed deep from the waist, and tumbled head-first into the bay.

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Domestic unions differ as much as do international ones

III—Labor Rivalries and Policies

By Mark Starr

Educational Director, International Ladies Garment Workers

PREVIOUS articles have described the status of the worker in publicly owned and operated industries and services, and suggested the development of administrative democracy in the reconversion period. Here examination is made of "free unions" and of the rivalries and differences to be found among trade unions. These differences account in large part for the creation of the World Trade Union Federation to supersede the International Federation of Trade Unions of which the American Federation of Labor was an important part. The relation of this new group to the International Labor Office and possible modifications of union policies and tactics will also be described.

George Meany, secretary-treasurer of the A.F.L., on September 12 declared to the British Trades Union Congress:

> ". . . we insist on recognizing the so-called Russian trade union movement for what it is—government controlled, government-fostered and government-dominated labor front that has denied to the workers of Soviet Russia the basic human freedoms that American workers hold prerequisite to a free nation."

Such a statement was no surprise in view of the repeated charge made by the A.F.L. leaders that the unions of the U.S.S.R. were not free unions. The official A.F.L. *Weekly News Service* had, in its issue of December 5, 1944, thus defined free unions:

> "Free trade unions are independent organizations controlling their own terms and conditions of membership, deciding their own rules and discipline of membership, able to make a contract with assurance of fulfillment. Free trade unions are not state controlled nor are they auxiliaries of the state, dominant party, or any employer or employers' organizations. Free trade unions are not subject to any political party nor do they serve as party tools. Power of deciding policies and the course of the organization is lodged with the union membership."

The exceptional unions, into which gangsters have muscled their way or in which internal democratic rights of the members have been suppressed, would also not be free unions under such a definition.

K. Omelchenko, editor of *Trud*, daily newspaper of the All-Union Council of Soviet Trade Unions, replied to the criticism that the Soviet unions are "controlled by the state" by saying that the Soviet state is the people, that unions in other countries do as their government orders, and that anyway A.F.L. leaders are dictators and criminals. (When *The Worker*, organ of the American

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Communist party, reprinted this article, on June 17, 1945, its cartoonist suggestively illustrated it by drawing Fay, Bove, Bioff, Browne, Scalise in prison garb.) That the A.F.L. has not been vigilant enough in safeguarding its reputation by withdrawal of charters from unions dominated by such individuals may be granted without making such an unfair general indictment. That there is a serious problem in maintaining internal democracy in unions and activizing members to exercise their rights of control is also admitted by progressive unionists. But Mr. Omelchenko, in his allegation of subservience, overlooks the fact that the A.F.L. and the C.I.O., for example, opposed industrial conscription and also peace-time conscription when both were favored by the President, the Cabinet officers and the military chiefs; and that in many instances criticisms and war-time strikes by the unions changed government policies and institutions.

With a disdain for the facts about the role of the British unions and the Labor party in substituting Churchill for Neville Chamberlain, Mr. Omelchenko alleged that in the Munich period: "In spite of the wishes of the trade union membership, the leaders of the Trades Union Congress followed in the wake of the official government policy, and when the government tacked they invariably tacked too." If a single union member, local or trade union in the U.S.S.R. ever was allowed to disagree with the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939 or with any other government policy, the editor of *Trud* did not mention it. What would be worthwhile knowing is:

(1) To what extent if any do the Russian unions have any say in establishing scales of wages and bonuses, directors' and technicians' salaries? If, as Mr. Omelchenko states, "the question of joining or leaving a trade union is a matter of free choice for every wage and salaried worker," are there any workers who do not choose to join? If, as alleged, all leading trade union bodies, from the bottom up, are elected by secret ballot, can we know about any contests or about the selection of slates?

(2) What role does the union play in deciding larger questions of industrial policy, e.g., whether in a given industry the returns shall be plowed back into the industry by way of improved equipment or whether the standard of life of the workers shall be improved? How does the union function in making such decisions?

(3) Whether under any circumstances the Soviet workers are allowed to strike as a final resort?

ARE WORKERS THE RULERS?

The nub of the difficulty is that Soviet writers insist that "The working class has become the ruling class" and thus is the political leader of society possessing all power. But the ruling class in this one-party state is the Communist party to which all trade union leaders in key spots invariably belong. Since Tomsky, no trade union leader has ever championed an independent line of action for the unions. In "Leninism" Stalin writes: "The party represents the highest type of proletarian class organization when compared with other proletarian organizations, as trade unions, cooperatives and

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state organizations whose activities must be unified and directed by the party. Dictatorship of the proletariat may be realized by the party, as its superior steering organization."

It is this conception and practice of dictatorship by a single party that represents a real difficulty in linking the unions of the United States and Russia into a united world federation. On a different plane, Byrnes, Bevin and Molotov, in the September-October meetings in London, failed to secure a meeting of minds for the same reason. The rights of opposition parties, free speech and free press are indispensable to the functioning of free trade unions.

However, this criticism by the A.F.L. of the "freedom" of the Soviet union is not the only reason why the A.F.L. refused to participate in the World Trade Union Federation recently set up officially in Paris. The additional reason is, of course, the participation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The very existence of the C.I.O. constitutes an affront to the sovereignty of the A.F.L. in the minds of its Executive Council. Just as well might New York vote itself out of the federal government, as a constituent union vote itself out of the A.F.L. Dualism is the unforgivable crime in the eyes of the A.F.L. Thus the participation of the C.I.O. in the new international organization was an extension of the disastrous division which has marked the last ten years of trade union development in the United States.

It was only the favorable atmosphere of the New Deal which made it possible for the American labor movement to indulge in the luxury of a split. Before that time the onslaught of the open-shoppers kept the unions welded together. With the successful organization of the C.I.O. and its permanence, as contrasted with previous dual unions, there was created a precedent which manifests itself in jurisdictional disputes and the setting up of independent unions.

These complications aggravate the strike situation which is at the moment front page news bewildering outsiders and adding to the general misinformation of the public about labor unions.

The A.F.L. was successful in monopolizing representation at the International Labor Office which met in Paris in October and the C.I.O. had to be content with sending "advisers." Naturally the C.I.O. welcomed the opportunity given it by the World Trades Union Federation to play an important part in world affairs. While the unions of tht C.I.O. based in the mass production industries, are much more likely to use their political power than are the old-time craft unions of the A.F.L., there is as yet no distinction between the philosophies of the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. Green and Murray and Hillman all accept free enterprise and do not share the conception of Holedano (Mexico) and some of his left wing colleagues that the unions should be revolutionary agencies.

Already in the discussions of the World Trades Union Federation some differences have appeared between the experienced large-scale organizations of Britain and the United States on the one hand and

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the smaller and younger unions of Latin America and the British Empire. These latter unions are long on resolutions and short on per capita payments and can only use the World Trades Union Federation as the sounding board of their grievances.

At present writing the front pages of our newspapers are full of strikes, large and small. The newspapers play down the number of unemployed and play up the number of workers involved in strikes. And although the American labor movement has made in the last 12 years some tremendous strides forward, it is still operating in a hostile atmosphere. All the exaggeration of strikes is likely to create the atmosphere for restrictive legislation which may prove just as ill-advised as was the Smith-Connally Bill passed over President Roosevelt's veto and now abandoned even by its authors.

The part to be played by the unions in reconversion will be materially affected by this outbreak of industrial militancy. The workers foresee an attack and believe that offense is the best defense. They have been told all during the war that they could not strike and for patriotic reasons they did not. Now their accumulated grievances are finding a vent. The Little Steel formula and the War Labor Board kept wages down to a 15 per cent increase while there was an acknowledged increase in the cost of living of 30 per cent and over. There have also been cuts in the take-home pay by the cessation of overtime. The steel workers' weekly average has dropped from $50.85 to $38.38.

The first demobilized veterans, having heard about war-time wages of $150 weekly, hurried back into the shops and their disillusionment is part of the general protests now being made. Then too, the union members have been made aware of the big salary increases given to the heads of corporations and they know about the unprecedented profits which industries have made and also about the way in which the big corporations can recapture some of the tax payments made in order to help them through any possible lean post-war years.

However, the unions should for their own sake endeavor to restrain haphazard and unorganized strikes by individual unions. If wage advances are claimed on the basis of an increase in the cost of living, then there should be a general wage advance made by negotiations between representatives of labor and capital. This would be more effective than the guerilla warfare now being conducted, irritating the public and strengthening the critics of the union movement.

If the unions are wise, they will extend their public relations activity. They will cooperate with the institutions of higher learning which are endeavoring to train trade union administrators. The unions will also strengthen their attempts at the self-education of their members and officers. This is a time which calls for industrial statesmanship on the part of labor or else the Sewell Averys and not the Eric Johnstons will multiply and the chances of improved industrial relations will be thereby undermined.

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Morality for the Atomic Age

By Eduard C. Lindeman

From his column in The New Leader

A VAST amount of arrant nonsense has been written and spoken about the atomic bomb during the last three months.

I am amazed to learn that many of my contemporaries place so much faith in fear. They seem to believe that the sheer frightfulness of atomic energy's potentialities will somehow scare us all into being good. Because they believe in fear they strive to exaggerate the terrifying potency of atomic energy and thus increase the tempo of fear. This is bad psychology and faulty history. If the fear theory of morality were sound, we should have eliminated war and crime long ago.

Others appear to believe in the guilt theory of morals. They want us to feel sorry over the fact that a great scientific discovery has been made and that we found it useful in bringing the war to an abrupt end. Our use of the atomic bomb probably cost the lives of 100,000 human beings, but over 30,000,000 human beings had already been killed in this war and a fairly large percentage of these were women and children. If the war had lasted another year and if the steady improvement in existing weapons had continued, we should have probably killed many times the number who were destroyed in the two Japanese cities struck by the atomic bomb.

The third rationalization which has been used appears to me equally unsound. Many seem to take pride in the fact that atomic energy is *our* proud discovery and that we may keep the secret and its power from others. Pride and fear are close relatives and both are dubious foundations for morality. If we can present nothing better than these three negatives — fear, guilt and pride—then I think we may as well all turn to pessimism and admit the total failure of the "human enterprise." But I, for one, do not wish to take this course until alternatives have been explored.

Perhaps some clarity may be introduced into this discussion if we examine a few generalizations within which this event, the discovery of atomic energy, must be viewed. In the first place, it seems to me advisable to re-affirm the basic principle of continuity. If continuity exists in nature, then it must have its counterpart in science, the instrument which strives to learn the truth about nature. If the "law" of continuity applies to science as well as to the material with which science works, then the discovery of atomic energy does not belong to the fortuitous nor to the cataclysmic realm. It represents an event which was to be expected. If we were so educated as to entertain a greater respect for the expectations of science, we would be less likely to speak of scientific discoveries in terms of a discourse belonging to miracles and mysteries. Under these circumstances, we should also be less inclined to be "caught off base" when a new discovery, which incidentally is always

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a culminating point in a long series of prior discoveries, is announced.

The main cry which has arisen among the alarmists since the announcement of atomic energy's discovery may be epitomized as another "back to religion" claim. This demand usually includes at least two hidden elements namely, (a) an assumption that morality resides in and may be evoked from no other source than religion, and (b) an assumption that there is something sinister about science. Some publicists have even gone so far as to make the ridiculous proposal that scientific activities be halted or curtailed until men bring religion and morals into a position of par. One detects a certain form of anti-scientific feeling, almost a "mad-on" about science, among many contemporaries. I call all of this erroneous reasoning because our difficulty does not lie in the realm of science. Science, in other words, is not the villain. How can truth be held blameworthy?

The flaw does not reside in the truth which is revealed by science but rather in the lack of truthfulness which characterizes the behavior of politicians, power-seeking executives, writers who seek pecuniary success, preachers who think religion means helping people to avoid the world of reality, and teachers who admit of no necessary relation between their subject-matter and action. I do not mean to exonerate scientists as persons. They must behave truthfully so long as they remain within the context of scientific method but they all too frequently fall into the grossest errors when they act as citizens; or, when they fail to act as citizens and assume an attitude of "moral isolationism" with respect to public issues.

Knowledge is power—not because Bacon said so, but because we see its evidence on every hand. The discovery of atomic energy is knowledge which when put to use becomes expressive of power. The issue here, as in all instances where knowledge becomes power, is this: how is the new power to be used? This is a moral question. Once we admit that the basic question involved is moral we arrive at the crucial point of the current discussion. Where do we seek answers for moral questions? Who is responsible for making the moral decisions?

If we accept conventional answers to these queries, the dilemma deepens. Some insist that the scientists whose discoveries precipitated the moral issue bear no responsibility regarding their use. This means that moral decisions must be left to those who know little or nothing about science. This vicious separation has already gone so far as to cause many scientists to attempt to divorce themselves completely from moral issues. But, does it not seem clear that an age in which moral issues are precipitated by science must also become more scientific about morality?

I am appealing for an extension of science into the moral and social spheres. I am not thereby inferring that religion and the humanities are no longer to be thought of as sources of moral insight. What I am saying is that these disciples will lose their authority unless they, too, become scientific. Science without a humanistic orientation is likely to culminate

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in moral chaos. Likewise, if the humanistic tradition does not align its affirmations with realistic and scientific fact, it will degenerate into a deadly faith which bears no relation to life. Its appeal, in that case, will be either to the soft-minded, whose insulated goodness will become a showcase display, or to the hard-minded moralists, who will seek to embody morality in a set of authoritative dogmatisms. Neither of these prospects leads to a sense of progress.

An atomic age requires a dynamic morality. Science emerged from the humanistic tradition, which was a faith founded upon truth. The new humanism will in turn grow out of science, which is modern man's chief instrument for truth-seeking.

Emily Post of the Fifties

By Robert L. Wheeler

From his column "In Perspective" in the Providence Bulletin

IF you are curious about American tribal customs and wish to know what Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness used to be really like in the United States, I advise you to consult a few of the books on etiquette and deportment which have been coming out regularly ever since we stopped eating pumpkin pie with both hands. I don't know who Miss Eliza Leslie was or anything about her, except that she lived in Philadelphia in the 1850's, but I opened her "Behaviour Book: a Manual for Ladies" at page 103. After reading just one paragraph I spent the rest of the night with Miss Leslie in an armchair, and if any Philadelphian is so crass as to flutter an eyelid at that statement let the cad keep his Main Line leers right down by the Schuylkill (pronounced Skookl) where they belong. I am a dead shot and am resolved to protect Miss Leslie's good name against such as him.

Here is the paragraph.

"Ladies no longer eat salt-fish at a public-table. The odour of it is now considered extremely ungenteel, and it is always very disagreeable to those who do not eat it. If you breakfast alone you can then indulge in it."

Once I had read that, nothing would do me but I must go back and devour all of Chapter Ten, "Deportment at a Hotel." I wished to know what some of the other things were that a lady stopping at a hotel had to do besides pull down the shades while she ate a herring. I must say I learned plenty. Miss Leslie and John Cotton & Co. of Philly brought out "The Behaviour Book" in 1859 and it was high time they did. It is evident that a dangerous spirit of change was abroad in the land and that liberty was fast turning into license. Eliza had to concede that:

"The fashion of wearing black silk mittens at breakfast is now obsolete. It was always inconvenient, and neither useful nor ornamental."

I'll bet that raised the very d - - - l in Philadelphia. But don't think Miss Leslie was one who could be pushed around. She had plenty of

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backbone and on Page 128 she took a firm stand against something that was undermining the very foundations of the Ship of State.

"It is an affectation of ultra-fashion to eat pie with a fork and has a very awkward and inconvenient look."

On Page 133 there is an incident involving a Well-Dressed Stranger who was dining "at a great hotel in Boston" and the table knife with which he was eating. Miss Leslie was down upon this fellow like a row of Pennsylvania Dutch brick smokehouses. For eating with his knife? Dear no. For hurling the butter knife at a waiter. It seems the waiter had insisted on his using the butter knife in helping himself to butter, whereupon the Well-Dressed Stranger had allowed as how the knife he had been shoveling beans with was good enough for him. He then threw the butter knife so hard that it shattered against the wall. "For this exploit," Miss Leslie remarks, "he had to pay five dollars." I hope it was a lesson to him.

If the female hotel guest paid attention to Miss Leslie's instructions she did not, after eating her herringless breakfast, gallop back to her room to make sure the chambermaid wasn't stealing her cashmere shawl. "This palpable suspicion of their honesty is an insult to the girls, and is always felt as such. It is sufficient to lock the bureau, the wardrobe, and your trunks." Instead, she was supposed to repair to the hotel drawing-room or parlour and there converse with other ladies, taking care to avoid anyone "who is traveling without a companion, and whose face is painted, who wears a profusion of long curls about her neck, who has a meretricious expression of eye, and who is over-dressed." She was also to steer clear of "young girls who are loud, noisy, bold and forward" and of "females who are evidently coarse and vulgar, even if you know that they are rich, live in a large house and are of respectable character."

That didn't leave a naturally sociable girl much in the way of companionship, except her own refined thoughts and the shipping news. If she owned a poodle she could just keep it to hell out of the hotel parlor.

Of course, she could play the hotel piano if she wanted to but Miss Leslie doesn't encourage the practice.

"We believe that our beloved America is not yet the land of music; and that (with many exceptions) her children are not generally furnished with much capacity for it."

What, no "Beautiful Dreamer?"

* * *

Just what a lady did if she needed a small slug of Bourbon to help her bear up under the excitement Miss Leslie doesn't say. Probably she had to faint. If she did let us hope it was not into the arms of one of those 1850 wolves "who can afford to idle away their mornings in loitering about parlours and talking flirtations."

In case she ever met a man who was fit to speak to, and Miss Leslie doesn't hold out much hope, she was to converse sensibly with him and not use slang. The word that absolutely got Eliza down was "polking." She didn't think much of the dance, either. "To her honour be it remembered, Queen Victoria has

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prohibited the polka being danced in her presence."

Tsk, tsk. Ah, Miss Leslie in your faded binding of rose-red, delicate as a blush, why do I feel that all you needed was a little bringing out? Come, my Eliza, leave us put vine-leaves in our hair and a nickel in the juke-box! The "Beer Barrel Polka," my girl, and a taxi for Queen Victoria!

A BIRD BY ANY OTHER NAME

• A businessman some months ago decided to go into the manufacturing of what he considered was an essential war-supporting product. He came to Washington when he couldn't get any satisfaction from his local War Production Board Office. He first appeared before the Materials and Products Division. The director of that division, Shaw Livermore, listened respectfully and turned him down. The manufacturer then appealed to the Program Adjustment Committee only to find that Livermore was also chairman.

Livermore listened again and again he refused to allocate materials. The businessman then decided to appeal to the highest authority, the Central Requirements Committee, whose chairman was Lincoln Gordon. However, when he appeared the chairman was absent and the manufacturer again found himself appealing to Livermore, the senior member. As the manufacturer left the room, somewhat confused, he was heard to mutter, "Quoth the raven Livermore."

—Jerry Klutz in The Washington Post

• Definition of a split second: the interval between when the light changes and the man behind you begins honking.

ENTERPRISING YOUNG MAN

• This sounds almost too good to be true, but the man who tells me the story swears it happened at the home of a friend of his.

The parents were invited out to dinner, so they hired a "sitter" to look after their two children, a boy of seven and a baby. They arrived home in the usual state of uneasiness, but were re-assured by the sight of the sitter calmly reading in the living room, assuring them that there hadn't been a murmur out of the sleeping children.

But presently they went upstairs and found the seven-year-old's bed empty. They searched the house and the yard but no little boy. Panicky, Dad was just about to go to the telephone to notify the police, when the youngster walked in the front door.

Nothing to get excited about, he assured his parents. He had been hired by the Smiths, next door, to act as sitter for their kids while they went to a party.

—Eleanor Clarage in the Cleveland Plain Dealer

• In the University of Wisconsin, students undergoing an examination in English were asked: 'Write out examples of the indicative, the subjunctive, the potential and the exclamatory moods."

One struggling pupil complied with the following: "I am endeavoring to pass an English examination. If I answer 20 questions, I shall pass. If I answer 12 question I may pass. God help me!"

—Wall Street Journal

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War is a Psychosis

By Ernest L. Meyer

From his column in The Progressive

IN Europe the Four Horsemen have done their work well. War losses in terms of money spent, and national debts, and cities pounded to rubble are astronomical; in terms of populations slaughtered, maimed, starved, diseased and uprooted they can never be reckoned however long the ledger. Yet despite the tremendous weight of the debit side of disaster, there are optimists who see the thunderclouds as the prelude to tranquil dawn. They see bloodshed yielding to brotherhood, universal bankruptcy yielding to an era of plentitude, and all because war itself spurs both the ethical dreams and the inventive genius of mankind.

These prophets are not without their proofs. They say, for example, that although industry for years has concentrated on the quantity production of war materiel, industry in those same frantic years discovered short-cuts and new processes which in peace-time will bring a flood of consumer goods, cheap and shining and streamlined.

They say that scientists, now concerned chiefly with radar and robots and a thousand other instruments for destruction and defense, have in their researches hit upon secrets of inestimable benefit to post-war humanity. They cite the fact that physicians and surgeons, with a million war casualties at hand, have achieved miracles with new techniques and wonder-drugs that will be inherited by the bright world of tomorrow. And thay add that psychologists and psychiatrists, confronted with the challenge of many thousands of soldiers mentally wracked and unbalanced by battle, have achieved records of rehabilitation phenomenal for a department of science relatively new and woefully understaffed.

Let us examine the last statement first, for it throws light on all the others. It is true that psychiatrists are healing mental and emotional wounds of war victims just as physicians and surgeons are healing physical hurts.

What is ironical is that the reclaimed and re-patched soldiers are sent back, whenever possible, into the very war machine that mangled them. What is said is that the science of psychiatry has never been enlisted in the drive to combat the war psychosis itself and end the waves of mass-madness that perennially hurl the world into an abyss.

Is such an approach to the problem feasible and possible? In the opinion of Karl A. Menninger, one of this country's outstanding psychiatrists, it is. Back in 1938, almost on the eve of the Second World War, Menninger published a book, *Man Against Himself,* which was both guidepost and warning. It is a careful study of the impulses, often obscure, which drive individuals to self-destruction, culminating periodically in mass suicide known as war. He writes:

"It surely is no longer doubted by any thinking person that there is no such thing as victory in war, that

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the conqueror like the conquered suffers irreparable loss. In this sense war, contrary to appearance, is virtually self-destruction. This suicidal bent of nations is coldly exploited by elements within each country. . . . The shadow of universal war looms before us as I write. . . .

"The brave pronunciamento of the psychiatrists of The Netherlands pointing out the antithesis of medical science to such destructiveness is so sensible and so obvious that it would seem to answer all arguments, yet we realize how utterly futile and vague such feeble protests are against the unreasoning mass of hatred so easily aroused and released in mob action. For the solution of such world difficulties it would indeed seem an absurd presumption for the scientist to make suggestions, were it not for the conviction that in the deeper study of the psychology of the individual, the analysis of the origins and manipulations of the destructive tendencies, one may expect to find the key to the salvation of mankind."

Menninger's reference to The Netherlands declaration refers to a statement issued in 1935 under the auspices of The Netherlands Medical Society which was signed by 339 psychiatrists of 30 countries and later by many others. It says:

"It seems to us that there is in the world a mentality which entails grave dangers to mankind, leading as it may, to an evident war-psychosis. War means that all destructive forces are set loose by mankind against itself. War means the annihilation of mankind by technical science. As in all things human, psychological factors play a very important part in the complicated problem of war. If war is to be prevented the nations and their leaders must understand their own attitude towards war. By self-knowledge a world calamity may be prevented."

The statement then analyzes various aspects of the war neurosis, and concludes:

"We psychiatrists declare that our science is sufficiently advanced for us to distinguish between real, pretended and unconscious motives, even in statesmen. The desire to disguise national militarism by continual talk about peace will not protect political leaders from the judgment of history. The secret promoters of militarism are responsible for the boundless misery which a new war is sure to bring. . . ."

Written, remember, in 1935. Addressed to the world, and unheeded. The war came. The war is ended. The chief spreaders of the war virus, Hitler and the Nazis, have been annihilated. But the contamination persists.

Everyone knows of the growing rumors of the "inevitable" war against Russia. Everyone knows that here in "peace-loving" America the shouts for a huge, permanent standing Army and Navy may yet swell to a triumphant martial hallelujah.

The psychosis of a Hitler, destroyed for the record at least at prodigious cost, is spreading across the world. How, then, can any sane person rejoice that war is useful because it stimulates ethical advance and inventive genius? What good will be your streamlined products of tomorrow, your new medicines, your new techniques of science, if all these

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bright baubles and magic serums are hurled again with the men who fashioned them into the whirlpool of war?

It is time for a redeclaration of The Netherlands psychiatrists — right now, while the talk of protocols and peace-treaties is in the wind. It might be prefaced somewhat as follows:

"To the rulers of nations; to the statesmen and diplomats; to the militarists and makers of machines and ammunition; to the industrialists and heads of international cartels; to all delegates at peace conferences—

"You have fumbled and failed in the past; you may fumble and fail again. You have failed because you have not recognized that war is a psychosis, eradicable only if the dark urge toward self-destruction is uprooted. We claim no magic formula for enduring peace. We ask only that our voices be heard, that our aid be enlisted, and that among you gathered at these memorable parleys plotting a post-war world of sanity and peace one will arise who will cry:

" 'Gentlemen! Is there a doctor in the house?' "

Asia: Test Case

By Jay Franklin

From his column "We the People" in the Cleveland Plain Dealer

THROUGH the screen of censorship which still masks most of the Eastern Hemisphere come trickling rumors which suggest that Asia is in a state of political eruption, in which, paradoxically, only occupied Japan appears to be reasonably calm.

As expected by President Roosevelt and other students of the Far East, the first outbreak occurred in French Indo-China, where a handful of British-Indian troops, liberated French war prisoners and Japanese troops are maintaining order against a nationalistic uprising of Annamese, who do not wish the restoration of French colonial rule.

There is also a rumble of revolt from Java, where native nationalists are also said to be in armed resistance to the restoration of Dutch colonial rule. There are reports of friction and violence affecting Chinese residents in Malaya, and from London comes word of Soviet suggestions for a more direct voice in the administration of Japan. India is silent, since the presumption is that the long-delayed grant of independence is on the agenda of the British Labor government in London. But the Arab countries are seething, with oil and the admission of Jewish refugees as issues.

Here is the first great test of whether the European colonial empires have learned anything in World War II. One lesson they seem to have learned is that the technical resources of the West have outstripped Asia more decisively than ever before and that their physical power to impose their au-

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thority is relatively greater than before 1939. This is the easiest of all the lessons that war can teach, and the only Asiatic nation which shows signs of equaling the West has been crushed.

But the Japanese technology, which was in many ways excellent, was also accompanied by a Japanese policy of "Asia for the Asiatics." This the Japanese wrongly interpreted as meaning "Asia for the Japanese," but their expulsion leaves Asiatic nationalism much stronger and far more determined than ever before. It is this psychological fact which now confronts the Allies in southeast Asia.

When the French delegation came to the San Francisco conference last spring, they had prepared elaborate plans for social and economic and political liberation of Asiatic colonies, based on collaboration of the Big Five. The conference had barely begun, however, when the French realized that they were confronted with even more uncompromising imperialism than in the past, a scramble for bases and colonies which no longer made a pretense to anything but power politics, and so they tore up their plans and went along with the tide.

The first fruits of this postwar imperialism have come, quite naturally, in the French possessions — first in mandated Syria and Lebanon, where British troops moved in to restore order, and now in Indo-China. The Dutch, long famed as wise and successful colonial administrators, also are feeling the pinch as Japanese power withdraws, leaving the East Indies a political vacuum into which Javanese nationalism expands. American policy is motivated by concern for native nationalism, as in the Philippines, and by a desire to retain such bases as will permit us to control the north Pacific. The Soviet Union also has its own fish to fry and is not unnaturally unwilling to see Japanese power replaced by American power on the Japanese home islands.

Not only is Asia seething, but it supplies at the outset the test of whether the new world security organization can function successfully in the postwar world. Asia is too big a problem to be settled overnight, but the lines of settlement are not even mapped out or agreed upon and the resulting confusion presses heavily on the settlement of things nearer home, in western Europe and in North America.

SNEAKERS WENT TO WAR

• The United States Rubber Company used pneumatic rubber to make various sizes of small tanks, anti-aircraft guns and other weapons. When inflated the rubber articles served to decoy the Nazi airmen from the real Allied supply dumps. Being collapsible they were easily packed and transferred from one combat area to another.

• You just aren't safe anywhere these days!
A melancholy inmate of a penitentiary reported the theft of $20. The obvious thief: his cell mate.

• An optimist is a guy who sits in the last row of the gallery and winks at the chorus girls.

—*The Houghton Line*

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FORUM: SHALL WE IN

YES!

By Mary Katharine Strong

"OUR moral responsibility equals our power, and the awareness of that reality is, or ought to be, the first thought in shaping our Latin American policies." (Tannenbaum, F. "An American Commonwealth of Nations," *Foreign Affairs,* July, 1944.)

History has a habit of enacting one scene on a gigantic stage, and then repeating the same scene as a side attraction. The tragedy of mankind has been that often it refuses to recognize that in both instances the script is the same, and that the lessons learned from the full-dress performance can validly be applied to the minor event. If the smaller show is ignored, often with the years it develops into a cancerous growth to plague the diplomats who treated the small irritation as of no importance.

In the words of Ricardo Setario: "The same forces which helped to destroy the Weimar Republic, which stopped sanctions against Italy during the Abyssinian crisis, which supplied Japan for its attack on China, which helped Franco against Spain, are now all hearts and flowers toward the fascist regime in Argentina. They encourage it; they lend it diplomatic aid." (*Harpers,* March, 1944.)

Only the blindest of men can deny that a vicious totalitarian government is on the rampage in Argentina. Since December 21, 1941, when an iron-clad state of siege was declared, the people have lost all civil liberties. By March of 1944, more than 3,000 political and labor leaders were in jail or concentration camps, while still others were forced to flee abroad.

According to *The New York Times,* atrocities in the approved Gestapo tradition have become common against political prisoners and aliens. Nor did the Argentine declaration of war change matters. Immediately following that government's signature of the Act of Chapultepec, on March 27, 1945, the Argentines were deprived of what little freedom existed. By the middle of October, months after the war's end, the country was still under an odious state of siege.

The Argentine situation has continually posed a thorny problem for the American State Department. It knows that the mass of the people are democratic, as witness the demonstrations for former Ambassador Braden, the illicit and bloody rejoicing at the re-occupation of Paris, the costly celebrations when Berlin fell. The State Department knows that fascist movements have a strong toe-hold upon the continent so long as the Argentine government continues its present path. Yet such phrases as "sovereignty,"

Continued on page 242

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RVENE IN ARGENTINA?

NO!

By Charlotte E. Braun

CLASS has been convened. The United States is about to "teach Argentina a lesson!" The State Department and a large segment of the American press laud this new policy of "toughness" toward one of our southern neighbors. And a few voices crying in the wilderness ask: "What about the 'good neighbor policy'?" What is happening to hemisphere solidarity, which has been a pet project of our government for the past decade and a half? Are we back-sliding into the era of "the big stick" and intervention?

From its earliest days, this nation has set itself up as the protector of the southern continent. Beginning with the Monroe Doctrine (1823), continuing with the Platt Amendment, the Roosevelt Corollary, up to and including Woodrow Wilson's policy of non-recognition (1914) we have always held to the firm contention that America (both North and South) is for the Americans. This was a policy always viewed with more than a trace of alarm by our southern neighbors. When first formulated, they no doubt found it acceptable, since the Monroe Doctrine served notice on the covetous European nations that the Americas were no longer open to European colonization and imperial adventure. But as time went on, as the United States grew in size and power, the situation became less attractive in Latin-American eyes. The feeling grew—and with justification—that they had merely exchanged one evil for another, and a closer one at that. The United States became "the Colossus of the North," carrying "the big stick" and the threat of "Yanqui imperialism" grew to be the major bogey which kept Latin American statesmen in a state of nervous anxiety.

The situation became further aggravated as the flow of American capital began to turn toward Latin America in competition with that of the other powers. Until the late nineteenth century, investment opportunities on our own expanding frontier had been ample, but now financiers were looking for new worlds to conquer and the unexploited continent to the south seemed the ideal outlet for surplus capital. Now Latin America constitutes a natural "sphere of influence" for the United States, due to several factors, including proximity and the nature of its economy. However, "sphere of influence" should not be interpreted in its worst sense, i.e., in the sense that it means an area completely under the domination of a great power. Rather it should mean an area of cooperation, between economies which complement each other, in the sense that our relative standards of living are comparable.

Continued on page 247

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Continued from page 240

"non-intervention," and "'Yankee imperialism" make it hesitate. It is thus inviting upon itself the fate of all who hesitate.

The policy towards our recalcitrant "good neighbor" has varied since June 4, 1943, when the Argentine Army announced that the country was under new management. We were at first guided by a "hands off" policy, and so the week after the Ramirez government seized power, we recognized the new regime.

But it was too much for Secretary Hull when Ramirez was quietly ousted on February 25, 1944. An even more dictatorial clique assumed power, and Hull, refusing to recognize the government, accused it of being fascist and a threat to the continent.

There were very strong practical reasons for the State Department and other Latin American countries to adopt the non-recognition policy toward Argentina. The vast majority of the Argentines are democratic, anti-Nazi, jealous of their civil liberties and anxious for a return to constitutional rule. Yet the government is strongly nationalistic, anti-Semitic and dictatorial.

FASCISM CONTAGIOUS

This, however, did not concern the State Department as much as did two other aspects of the case. There was on one hand the aggressive tendency of the fascist government. Axis propaganda found a receptive ear in a country where the leaders had a persistent nostalgia for the return of the lost provinces of Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia and southern Brazil. Our concern for the safety of other weaker Latin American nations was not unfounded. There was noted the drafting, in Argentina, of men 18 to 50, the greatly increased arms production. the building of airfields. The Bolivian fascist *coup d'etat* of 1943 was one clear result of Argentine policy.

Even more dangerous was the outright help given to German agents. In spite of numerous international obligations, Argentina remained the happy hunting ground for Nazi agents long after diplomatic relations were severed with the Axis. The resultant severe loss of American lives and property cannot easily be forgotten.

The stern policy of non-recognition was, unfortunately, shelved in January, 1945, when Stettinius and Rockefeller took over. They believed that Argentina could be brought back into the family of American nations and thus hemispheric solidarity would be re-established. The "soft policy" reached its climax when the United States recognized Argentina.

This appeasement was not noticeably successful, as was shown by the government-inspired smear campaign against Spruille Braden, and the re-imposition of the state of seige *after* the war's end. Now, having tried everything, there is talk of intervention by the United States.

But first, what is intervention? Aye, there's the rub. The most cursory examination reveals a curious paradox. It was intervention when we recognized the Ramirez regime in 1943. It was intervention when we refused to give Lend-Lease aid to Argentina. It was intervention when we adopted a

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non-recognition policy towards the Farrell-Peron regime. It was intervention when we recognized that government following its signature of the Act of Chapultepec.

The United States is the great nation in this hemisphere. Our mere power is like a permanent shadow, threatening or protecting, but unavoidable. "The theory of the equality of sovereignty, the non-intervention policy, the Monroe Doctrine and its various corollaries, the policy of recognition . . . and even the Good Neighbor policy, are in effect intervention. . . . Whatever we do or fail to do has the force of intervention. . . . Our power is such that we are a party to every transaction, even against our will." (Tannenbaum, *op. cit.*)

Thus if we recognize one side in a revolutionary coup, we are intervening for one faction and against its opponents. If we do not support our friends, we support our enemies. Should we fail to support the side we believe in, we actually support the side in which we do not believe. "We cannot escape the consequence of our power. We may refuse to exercise our responsibility, but in doing that we merely exercise it on the wrong side." (Tannenbaum, *op. cit.*)

In governments as tenuous and unstable as are many Latin American regimes, any action that favors those in power strengthens them in their grasp of public office, and any sign that looks like indifference carries an implication of censure and strengthens the opposition. Thus, a "hands off" policy is merely another form of intervention.

INTERVENTION ON DEMOCRATIC SIDE

A heavy responsibility is therefore placed upon the United States. Our full weight should be thrown behind the governments that seem most likely to achieve real democracy, real political and individual dignity, real freedom of thought, press and worship. If we do not lead the fight for these principles, who will? The seeds of fascism have been planted; even an Axis defeat in Europe does not destroy the transplanted dictatorships. "Nothing can prevent it save a crusading faith in democracy on the part of the United States, frankly and efficiently directed toward full support of such movements as the Mexican revolution, the People's Front in Chile, and the APRA in Peru." (Schuman, F. L. *Design for Power,* 1942.)

Our policy toward Argentina will become very important in the next few years. Let us take care to make the correct precedents, for there are indications that other countries will follow Argentina's lead. Latin America has, in the last 10 years, come a long way on the road to stable democracy. We have recently seen peaceful presidential elections in Cuba, Mexico, Costa Rica and Peru, with Brazil slated for one soon. Yet there are still numerous tyrannical rulers. The United States, to support hemispheric defense, during the war gave Lend-Lease weapons to every Latin American country except Argentina. These contributions by us have increased the prestige of the governments in power. We have actually armed many countries as they have never been armed before. Ambitious leaders will have means at their

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disposal for making "revolution"; governments will have more effective tools for smashing popular uprisings. The ordinary dictator has become more permanent, more tyrannical. The degree and manner in which we intervene in Argentina will chart our course with the other republics.

This conclusion will not make people happy. The word "intervention" leaves a bad taste, even though there is no alternative, even though "we must admit that there always has been intervention by some states in the internal affairs of other states. Furthermore, there seems to be slight ground for the hope that such intervention can or will be eliminated in the near future." (Butler, G. H. "Inter-American Relations After World War II," Dept. of State Bull., July 15, 1945.)

Yankee imperialism of the last century is not forgotten. What right, asks the person thinking of Nicaragua and Santo Domingo, have we to intervene? Yet in the last generation we have done much to atone for our previous sins. Our actions, since the inauguration of the Good Neighbor Policy, should remove fears that we will again be the bad boy of the hemisphere. And our record is not as bad as many public wailers would have the public believe. The theory behind our actions in the Caribbean has been that we shall never intervene in Latin American affairs unless a breakdown of their institutions creates disorders which endanger the lives and property of foreigners, or the defense of the Canal, and that we cease intervening as soon as the disorders are over. Even this policy has lately been greatly narrowed, as witness Washington's scrupulous non-intervention when Mexico in 1938 expropriated foreign-owned oil properties. Certainly, if the United States were aggressively imperialistic in the European style, it could easily have converted all the territory from the Rio to Panama into a protectorate.

On the one side, then, is the fact that this country cannot but intervene and thus should make a point of intervening on the right side. Otherwise we support, by default, any and all *de facto* governments. On the other hand, the idea of intervention, even political and economic, does not make Americans too happy. There is, fortunately, a solution of the dilemma.

ANSWER: MULTILATERAL INTERVENTION

"There should be absolutely no unilateral intervention by any state in the internal or external affairs of the American republics. Neither should there be the failure to acknowledge the fact that intervention at times may be essential to the general welfare." (Butler, *op. cit.*) This involves guiding the necessary intervention into justifiable and constructive channels. It must be brought about by *multilateral action on the principle of majority rule* and by eliminating unilateral intervention by armed force.

All history shows that the influence of a single type of government cannot be restricted to purely internal affairs. The effect is felt in relations with other nations. In the case of Argentina, the rest of the continent cannot permit the establishment in this hemisphere of doctrines of racial superiority, dictatorial rule, the formation of antagonistic blocs of nations, the balance of power system. We cannot handicap ourselves in the fight by

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undue emphasis upon non-intervention and sovereignty. No one can object if the same standards of conduct are insisted upon for all countries, large and small, and if the objective is always that of the general welfare of the international community.

One very good thing has emerged from this war. True, before 1942 there had been a few isolated cases of joint action. In 1906 President Roosevelt asked the Mexican president to join him in offering mediation to warring Guatemala and Salvador. Costa Rica and Nicaragua joined us in the successful peace conference. President Wilson reached out for diplomatic cooperation to South America several times during his Mexican difficulties. As Walter Lippmann, in 1928, said: "If the real purpose of the United States is disinterested, as I believe it is, then what the United States is bound to desire is some kind of international recognition of its policies. Its objective must be not merely to avoid a scolding, but to enlist as many other nations as possible to share the moral responsibility of intervention. ("Second Thoughts on Havana," *Foreign Affairs,* July, 1928.)

This was not to come about, however, until the 1942 Rio de Janiero meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the American republics. The group passed a resolution to elect a committee of seven members to be known as "The Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense." This body held its first session at its permanent headquarters in Montevideo in April, 1942, and was in almost continuous session during the war.

Something new and different had been added to this committee. The seven members represented and acted in the name of the 21 American republics. The committee became the first inter-American group to be expressly required by the American republics to represent the entire community. It was this group which investigated and recommended hemisphere policy on espionage, aliens and subversive activity. It suggested the policy of recognition to be followed by the individual governments.

When the Bolivian *coup d'etat* of December, 1943, installed a fascist government, the Committee moved swiftly. Four days after the revolution it adopted a resolution that for the duration of the war, the American republics agreed not to accord any recognition to any new government established by force, prior to full exchange of information and consultation among themselves regarding the circumstances surrounding the revolution and particularly the adherence of the new regime to the existing inter-American undertaking for hemispheric defense. Nineteen interested governments, including the United States, promptly announced their acceptance of this formula.

After six months, the Committee felt that the cause which impeded recognition had disappeared. So the republics decided to recognize Bolivia. The same delay in recognition, pending investigation, occurred in the case of Guatemala, Ecuador, El Salvador and, of course, Argentina. Thus it was that President Roosevelt said: "The policy of the United States . . . has been developed in consultation with the other American republics."

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ACT OF CHAPULTEPEC

The unified refusal of the Latin American countries to recognize Argentina during 1944 spoke well for the policy of collaboration. That the policy was effective can be seen from the fact that in October, Farrell requested the Governing Board of the Pan American Union that a meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the American republics be held "to consider the existing situation between the Argentine republic and the other American republics."

The Latin American attitude has subtly changed towards the United States. There is much less suspicion and more willingness to act mutually on joint problems. The latest indication of this is Part I, Section three of the Act of Chapultepec, which stipulates that any aggressive action against an American state *by any other state* would be considered an act of aggression against all the other American states. More amazing is the fact that this article was pushed, not by our State Department, but by the other republics, thus showing that Latin American countries are no longer afraid of the United States. An agreement contemplating joint armed intervention in conflicts between American governments was unthinkable a few years ago. Each government, including the United States, was too jealous of its freedom of action. Also, many of our neighbors feared to afford any pretext for intervention in their affairs by the United States. The fear of Argentina, however, and the lessons of Europe have brought this continent a long way in international cooperation.

Even the attitude toward non-recognition has undergone a great change. One example of this fact was the joint policy of the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense. Here was not a case of the United States being stubborn and refusing recognition in defiance of the other republics. Here was a case of the countries agreeing to take joint action in determining whether or not to recognize new governments.

One of the most significant provisions of the Act of Chapultepec is Article XXXIV, which reads:

"The Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace resolves: that the Inter-American Judicial Committee study the project presented by the Delegation of Ecuador entitled 'Draft Convention on Abolition of the Recognition of De Facto Governments," and render an opinion on the subject to the Governments of the American Republics, through the Pan American Union, for consideration at the Ninth International Conference of American States." Thus Latin America has begun to realize that a policy of blanket recognition of all de facto governments only eases the path of tyrants like Farrell and Peron.

It is no longer a question of intervention vs. non-intervention. It is rather a question of how best to intervene. The principles have been established by the Emergency Advisory Committee on Political Defense. Intervention does not necessarily mean unilateral use of troops and/or pressure. It must mean for this continent a multilateral undertaking for the sake of the

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common good. The answer to our dilemma lies in a continuation of our present policy of internationalizing the Monroe Doctrine.

Continued from page 241

This economic cooperation is something we have never achieved. On the contrary, American capital going into Latin America has only served to antagonize because it has always involved political interference. Our attitude on the subject was made clear in Calvin Coolidge's administration, when Mr. Coolidge flatly declared that citizens of the United States and their property abroad came within the domain of the United States and would receive full protection of the United States and its armed forces. Statements such as these hardly lulled our southern neighbors into a feeling of security! It was, furthermore, made at a time when the wounds of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had not yet healed, when Latin America still remembered United States intervention in Cuba, Haiti, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and Mexico.

INTERVENTION AND NON-RECOGNITION

The question of intervention has troubled Latin America more than any other. Intervention, being defined as interference in the affairs of a nation for the purpose of forcing it to perform some act which it would not perform of its own free will, has been practiced all too often by the United States. It does no good to claim, as we have done, that we were acting in the interests of protecting order, or preserving peace in the hemisphere. This was the line taken by Theodore Roosevelt in 1902, when European powers, including Germany, Great Britain and France, called Venezuela to account for debts contracted by the government of that nation. At the time, the United States government intervened and took it upon itself to keep Venezuela's foreign affairs in order. As a consequence of this incident, the famous "Roosevelt Corollary" was formulated, whereby we not only set ourselves up as debt-collector among our southern neighbors for the European nations, but proposed to act as policeman and to exercise both preventive and corrective intervention. By it, in an aura of "chronic righteousness," we took it upon ourselves to prevent revolutions and, generally, to run things in Latin America along lines which we considered "safe." We did not formally abrogate the "Roosevelt Corollary" until 1930!

That Latin America did not take kindly to our show of interest in its affairs goes without saying. There was a second facet to our foreign policy in regard to Latin America, in some respects perhaps more irritating than direct intervention. This was the policy of non-recognition of a government, and this is the policy that has had such a revival in the past three years. Originating in the Wilson administration, it reversed a trend in recognition policy which had been established by this nation at the time of its founding. At that time the principle of recognition involved the question of the legit-

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imacy of the government. The United States, having been established by revolution, broke with this tradition. It substituted the principle of *de facto* recognition, premised on the condition that the government desiring diplomatic recognition, 1) control a majority of the people; 2) hold the seat of government; 3) fulfill its international obligations and give promise of continuing to do so. As justification for this, as against *de jure* recognition, both Washington and Jefferson held that the latter constituted intervention, since it questioned the right of the people to have a government of their own choosing.

Many Latin American states owed their diplomatic recognition to this policy of the United States. Therefore, it came as a great blow to Latin America when, in his dealings with the revolutionary government of Mexico's General Huerta, Woodrow Wilson completely reversed the traditional American policy. Declaring that the new government had not been established in a constitutional manner, he refused to recognize General Huerta.

A strong reaction against these interventionist policies of the United States can be traced in the writings of South American statesmen. Foremost among these was Carlos Calvo, eminent Argentinian jurist and historian, who, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, published his contribution to international law—the Calvo Doctrine. The main proposition of his plan was to deny to aliens the right to invoke the diplomatic protection of their country in any court action involving their rights. Ultimately, this doctrine looked to the elimination of any foreign intervention.

In 1902, another Argentinian, Luis Drago, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, presented a plan to limit the unilateral power of the United States as proposed under the Roosevelt Corollary, by putting intervention on a hemisphere basis. Finally, in 1930, the Mexican statesman and historian, Estrada, proposed the doctrine which bears his name. This held that no government has the right to withhold recognition from any other government, provided that it is actually a government. He implied that any other policy was a passive form of intervention and denied the right of a people to a government of their own choosing.

THE COLONELS' CLIQUE

This, then, shows the trend of Latin American opinion in her relations to the United States. It is against this background that we must evaluate the effect of our current break with Argentina. The situation between the two nations has been tense ever since the Castillo government was ousted in June, 1943, by Generals Arturo Rawson and Pedro Ramirez. The Ramirez government, however, managed to get back into the good graces of the State Department by severing diplomatic relations with Germany and Japan on January 26, 1944. It did so under pressure, for the United States had charged in thinly-veiled language that Argentina was harboring Axis agents who could spy on Allied military moves from their vantage point on the River Plate. In spite of the fact that President Ramirez had temporarily made his peace with the United States, it did not help his precarious position and, a

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month later, the "colonels' clique," headed by Juan Peron and Edelmiro Farrell, took over the government by a coup.

A consultation among the Latin American states took place. A meeting of the Emergency Committee for the Political Defense of the Hemisphere recommended that Argentina orient its foreign policy in such fashion as to "achieve its incorporation into the United Nations." The United States was instrumental in encouraging this attitude, as recognition was still denied Argentina. What we hoped to accomplish by this method is not immediately apparent. Certainly, there is no instance in the history of inter-American relations which proves this an effective method of coercion. On the contrary, it only serves to create ill-feeling and the return of the suspicion that the United States is, after all, only exercising its power in an effort to dominate the hemisphere. Granted that the government of the Farrell-Peron clique leaves much to be desired, granted that it has handled native and foreign fascists with kid gloves, still it is not the province of the United States to interfere in the internal affairs of any nation which does not constitute a direct menace to our national security. This, in 1944 and 1945, was not the case in Argentina. Under the circumstances, we had no more right than had the dictatorships, which we profess to abhor, to set up a standard for the governments of neighboring states. It has frequently been said that the people of Argentina, the large democratic element which exists there and which is represented in the press by such newspapers as *La Presna,* loathes the Farrell-Peron regime. Even at this writing, the newspapers are full of reports about Argentinian unrest. If this is true, then it is for the people of Argentina themselves to declare for democracy, not for us to thrust it upon them, either bodily or by threat of coercion.

Other states in Latin America are disturbed by the attitude of the United States. *La-Razon,* leading newspaper in democratic Uruguay, quoted Senator Miguel Cruchaga, Chilean statesman, as saying: "Pan-Americanism must logically be consistent in the application of its own principles; it cannot reconcile the ostracism or exclusion of any member of the great inter-American family with those principles."

ARE WE DIVIDING TO RULE?

Our attitude toward Argentina is even more questionable when considered in the light of our relations with some of the other Latin American governments. It becomes, in fact, suspiciously like the doctrine of "divida et impera" for, while condemning the government of President Farrell as fascist, we countenance, even support, the government of President Vargas in Brazil. (An American writer on Latin America was cautioned by a spokesman of the State Department to "Be nice to Brazil!") Yet Brazil has had no freedom of speech or of the press and Vargas is entering his eighth year as president, although the constitution of 1937 limited a presidential term to six years. Occasionally one hears of flare-ups in Brazil—usually student demonstrations, but they are glossed over. Still, this is the government which we have supplied with arms, equipment and moral support.

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Another instance comes to mind, the government of General Enrique Penaranda of Bolivia, which was ousted in December, 1943, by Major Gualberto Villarroel and the National Revolutionary Movement. Because the Penaranda regime had kept tin supplies flowing to the United States, we had closed one eye to its domestic policies, which included the Catavi Massacre of December, 1942, in which 19 striking miners were shot down on government orders.

In other words, we only intervene *selectively* and the broader principles of democracy vs. fascism, liberty vs. government control, do not come into play, except as slogans for newspaper campaigns. This is unworthy of a nation which, theoretically, supports the equality of all nations. Let us rather look on from our side of the Rio Grande, jealously guarding our national security, but leaving our neighbors to work out their own domestic problems, for in the end our intervention will not win us the gratitude of the Argentine people. Let us remember that in a domestic quarrel, it is always the interfering stranger who gets hurt.

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PRIVATE ENTERPRISE FOREVER!

• An 11-year-old boy in Houston, Texas, has been giving law-enforcement officers a new headache. He was discovered with his mouth glued to a parking meter, siphoning coins with patient regularity. He explained his system as follows: "If you suck real hard the nickel comes up. You can hold it in your teeth until you can get your fingers on it."

PUBLIC SERVANT

• The mother in Waukegan, Illinois, knows why she pays her taxes. Harrassed by a three-year-old son who wouldn't go to sleep, she telephoned the local precinct station and said, "I'd like for a policeman to come out and frighten him."

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Yale Prepares for "One World"

By Benjamin Fine

From his column in The New York Times

COLLEGES and universities throughout the United States are planning to increase their offerings in foreign-area studies when campuses return to normal. An increased interest in the languages and history of other nations is noted in typical institutions everywhere.

During the war, encouraged by the Army and Navy, American colleges stressed the importance of foreign fields, especially as these areas related to the war effort. Particular attention has been paid to such lands as the Far East, the Soviet Union, China and Germany. A number of universities have trained men to take their places as part of the civil affairs administrative personnel which is to govern the enemy countries.

That the foreign studies will continue in the post-war period appears evident from reports received by this department. Many colleges intend to offer well-rounded courses, designed to train men for peace-time occupations. Typical of the action planned is that taken by Yale University. Other institutions are considering similar programs.

Establishment of a foreign-area studies program at Yale University as a permanent post-war addition which would give increased emphasis to foreign nations and their languages is recommended by a committee of six faculty members appointed by President Charles Seymour a year ago to explore the possibilities in this field.

Pointing out that for the past two years the study of other countries and of foreign languages has occupied a prominent place in the war-time curriculum of American universities, the report asserts that this war-time educational program can and should be continued in peace-time.

Student interest in foreign affairs had been rising steadily during the pre-war decade, the committee noted, and undergraduate enrollment in modern history and international relations courses had increased to unprecedented proportions. However, there was no group of courses specifically designed to describe and interpret foreign countries and their inhabitants in contemporary terms.

That the foreign-area courses of the Army programs filled this gap is commonly conceded. Courses in the history and geography of the nations of the world were added, with special emphasis on the lands the United States might be expected to help police after the war.

The demand for such courses will undoubtedly survive the war and make itself felt both in Yale College and the Graduate School, the report declares. This is particularly likely, it adds, because the expansion of American responsibilities in the international sphere "cannot fail to arouse intellectual curiosity concerning foreign nations even on the part of those who have no intention of pursuing careers in them."

The indications are that foreign-area courses will occupy a significant

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place in American universities, both as part of the liberal arts curriculum and as vocational training for professional students. The committee found that many colleges not only intended to continue their programs of foreign-area studies after the war, but in some cases expect to expand them into independent departments or institutes.

The committee cited the Harvard School for Overseas Administration and the recently founded training center of the Foreign Service Educational Foundation in Washington as evidence of the new trend. Numerous letters of inquiry from service men, received by the Division of Foreign-Area Studies at Yale, also point to the increased interest in this field.

THREE PHASES OF STUDIES

Specifically the committee suggests that foreign-area studies be maintained in peace-time as undergraduate electives, as post-graduate vocational training programs and as undergraduate majors.

The most immediate need, the report declares, is for undergraduate courses, which would be located in the department of study best equipped to offer them. Thus, if the Department of History happens to have an instructor qualified to give a course on contemporary Russia, the Russian area course should be offered in that department. Similarly, if the Department of International Relations should have the best man on Latin America, the Latin-American course should go to that department.

Although Yale should not try "to cover the globe," its position of leadership in the field of international studies justifies a fairly wide offering, to include the Soviet Union, Europe, the Far East and Latin America, the report asserts. It recommends that courses dealing with these four major areas and their contemporary culture and political institutions be added to the curriculum as soon as possible. It is the opinion of the committee that these courses would be as valuable to general students of the liberal arts curriculum as they would to future specialists in foreign affairs.

In the vocational phase, the committee favors a graduate program of foreign-area and language studies comparable in method and purpose to the Army Specialized Training Program and the Civil Affairs Training School, since many students will wish to prepare for definite missions abroad, either public or private.

It is proposed that the vocational training program be for one full academic year. Experience with the Army programs has shown that adequate results cannot be achieved in less time, no matter how intensive the method of instruction, the committee says.

No academic degrees would be granted for the vocational program, except indirectly. Credit may be given to individuals who have completed the program and later enrolled as graduate students in those departments. Admission to the program would be limited to men and women with college degrees or exceptional qualifications.

"The special teaching needs of the program can best be met by the ap-

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pointment of visiting lecturers with unusual first-hand knowledge of the various areas under study," the report continues. "Power to make such appointments should be vested in the director and his committee."

Recognizing that these recommendations will require new appointments to the faculty and new allocations of the teaching time of existing faculty members, the committee observes that it would be necessary to obtain additional funds and proposes that these funds be made available through an independent budget.

What action will be taken on the committee's recommendations cannot be determined at this time. However, Yale faculty members are of the opinion that the university will take favorable action on some, if not all, of the proposals. The report is now before the president and the corporation for consideration.

Tremendous interest in the study of foreign languages is evident on American campuses today. Fifty-five colleges and universities have participated in the foreign-area and language phase of the Army Specialized Training Program, ten universities in the Army Civil Affairs Training Program and two universities in the Navy counterpart of this. The Army School of Military Government at Charlottesville, Va., and two college civilian training schools have maintained similar courses of study.

During the post-war period it appears likely that Yale, as well as other leading American colleges and universities, will stress the languages, history and governments of foreign nations. It is the hope of college officials that such studies will lead to closer cooperation and better understanding among the peoples of the world.

DOWN TO EARTH

• A planter asked a Negro preacher what subjects he usually preached on in his labors among his people.

"Sometimes Ah preaches on love, sometimes on baptism, sometimes on heaven an' sick subjects," said the preacher.

"Why don't you preach occasionally on chicken stealing?"

"Well, Ah tell you, boss, when Ah preaches on dem subjects it allers throws a kind of coldness over de meetin'."

—*Canning Trade*

• When a Detroit department store College Fashion Board was organized there were 50 new names and faces for store people to recognize. At the second meeting a store executive greeted one of the girls, fumbled about for her name, then asked, "You're Marian, aren't you?"

"No," the girl ruefully replied, "but I'm engaged."

AN ASSIST

• Those of us who remember the long tedious days while waiting for the Japanese surrender news will be glad to know that other people also went through the same thing. One State Department official called the United Press Bureau and said, "This waiting is getting pretty monotonous. Would you give us the baseball scores?"

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The West Wants Regional Redistribution

By Richard L. Neuberger

From his column in The Washington Post

THE journals kept by the American explorers, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, inspired Thomas Jefferson to predict, "I view a great, free and independent empire on the Columbia River." This prophecy, uttered nearly a century and a half ago, faces its supreme test during the post-war period.

Civilian population along the Pacific seaboard has increased 17 per cent since the defense emergency commenced in 1940; this contrasts with a national decline of 8 per cent due to men and women in military service. Most of the West's new inhabitants have been employed in shipyards and aircraft plants. Soon these will shut down or go on a mere maintenance status. Where will the western labor force of 3,400,000 people then find work?

Reconversion has one meaning in the East, but quite a different meaning on the Pacific Coast. Eastern war factories will actually be converted. They will turn to production of automobiles, radios, refrigerators, stoves, electrical appliances and similar merchandise for which there is a vast reservoir of civilian demand. But before the war the Far West had scarcely any durable-goods industries. To what, then, will the shipyards be converted?

The working force on the Pacific Coast before the war was only 1,900,000 people. This is 1,500,000 less than the working force brought to the sundown side of the continent by the war. Where these additional workers will obtain employment constitutes the gravest economic dilemma in the history of the Far West. Solving the issue will be a major test of the Truman administration and may determine the new President's political fate in a region dominated at four successive elections by the late Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Once the West could always turn to exploitation of its basic resources. This mainly meant timber. But the forests of the Columbia River Basin, which provide half the nation's lumber supply, have been cut too fast during the war. Conservation practices have been abandoned. The policy of sustained yield — making the annual cut equal new growth — has been forgotten. The U. S. Forest Service believes that the mills of Oregon and Washington will run out of logs in less than 20 years at the present rate of cutting. Obviously, the lumber industry must contract rather than expand as a source of post-war employment.

Is the outlook, then, all dark? Do no rays of light appear?

There is one bright spot, and it is bright indeed. It basks in the glow of the four million kilowatts of hydro-electric power developed by the federal government on the Columbia, Colorado and Sacramento Rivers. This energy, particularly that generated at Bonneville and Grand Coulee Dams, is the lowest

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price power on earth. The wholesale rate charged by the Bonneville Power Administration is 2 mills a kilowatt-hour. This contrasts with 6.26 mills charged by the Pacific Gas & Electric Company, 10 mills charged by the Montana Power Company and 3.25 mills charged by the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Western water power has made possible a substantial portion of the country's aluminum production for combat aircraft. These plants may continue on the Coast after the war. However, light-metals factories employ few men. Most of the work is done by electricity. Manpower is a negligible factor. The hope is that aluminum fabrication factories will establish in the region — plants to shape the metal into pots, pans and appliances. This would be a genuine contribution to industrial employment. The Union Pacific is also said to be interested in shops for manufacturing aluminum freight and passenger cars.

One of the principal prospects for post-war employment soon after the soldiers begin arriving at the Golden Gate is in the vast 1,250,000-acre basin to be irrigated at Grand Coulee Dam. This sagebrush plateau must be cleared, lateral canals dug and the world's largest pumping stations installed. The new farms thus created will support 85,000 people, with another 170,000 men and women providing essential services in nearby settlements. Senator Magnuson of Washington believes returning soldiers should have priority purchase rights on this land.

Yet even such undertakings as this will leave thousands of western workers without jobs—and, more serious, without prospect of jobs.

If large-scale unemployment persists along the Pacific seaboard, a major issue will be the decentralization of American industry. For three years Manchester Boddy, publisher of the *Los Angeles Daily News,* has been claiming that the country's great manufacturing empires are too concentrated in the East. He believes they should be redistributed throughout the nation on a regional basis. This, too, is the belief of many federal officials. One of the final acts of the National Resources Planning Board was to point out that the West has been a colonial empire, selling raw materials and buying back finished products. "The West was sold cheap and bought dear," the board maintained. "This should not continue."

The question of regional redistribution will be important in the crisis confronting the West Coast. Soon the advocacy will be heard of automobile factories, locomotive works and steel mills for the Pacific seaboard—and also for the Pacific Ocean trade with the Soviet Arctic, with China and with Australia. Manchester Boddy may seek the Democratic senatorial nomination in California next year on this issue. Senators Morse of Oregon and Taylor of Idaho are studying the subject.

Both the pride and the economic future of the West are at stake. Nor will the Coast easily forget that it was the 230,000-volt transmission line from Grand Coulee which helped make possible the $384,000,000 atomic-bomb plant on the sagebrush uplands, where the Columbia and Snake River join for their mountain passage to the sea.

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Momma, Take a Bow

By Malvina Lindsay

From her column in The Washington Post

ALL this current criticism of "Mom" might indicate that another post-war revolt against her was brewing. In hearsay psychology circles now, it is only necessary to mention the word "Mom" to explain everything from 4-F's to domestic fascists.

In the rebellion of the 20's, "Mom," variously disguised as Mrs. Grundy, the Old Lady from Dubuque, the reformer, the club dowager, the "good woman," was the villain of the plot. Now, however, she is being blamed, not for being too strait-laced and bossy, but rather too solicitous and soft, for rearing a generation of "pantywaists."

"Why are 5,000,000 of our young men unfit for military service?" demand Congressman at their committee hearings.

"Why do we have so many discharged psycho-neurotics for causes other than battle fatigue?" ask military authorities.

"Why are our young fighting men so indifferent now about their voting, so unaware of their war aims?" ask military and civilian morale workers.

Most of those who raise these questions answer them with one word—either "Home" or "Mom," which are synonomous in most American minds. The belief generally exists that today's youth lacks mental toughness, self-reliance and a sense of public responsibility because of the coddling and lack of discipline of mothers.

There are other derelictions with which "Mom" is charged: that she has held back her daughters from enlisting in the Wacs, Waves, etc., because of either her prudery or her possessiveness; that she has gone off to make money in factory or store and left her children run wild and become delinquents; that she has encouraged materialistic standards of living which are responsible for most of the whining about rationing. In fact there is a growing feeling that a somewhat Spartan home life is needed if citizens are to be developed to maintain this nation's place in the rigorous world of tomorrow.

However, there is another side to the story. In addition to having been made a whipping boy by the military disciplinarians and the psychiatrists, "Mom" has been having her own personal war-time troubles.

She has had her sons go off to war and her daughters and daughters-in-law come home with their babies. Her home has been full of women and diapers; her peace and privacy destroyed. In many instances she has reverted to her old job of baby tending while the younger women went off to work or to bandage rolling, or even to cocktailing.

Frequently this has not been to "Mom's" liking. When the U. S. Children's Bureau made the suggestion that older women might take over the care of babies while the younger ones worked in war plants,

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it was deluged with letters from indignant grandmothers who said they had served their turns rearing children, and that they should be the ones who went out to take jobs.

"Mom" has also had to become a drudge, due to the shortage of help and of services. She has carried on her back-breaking job in the home, working in loneliness and often constant anxiety and suspense, deprived of the re-assuring companionship of human beings, which women in factories and offices have had.

In many instances, "Mom" has carried on a double job, working outside the home in daytime, cooking, scrubbing, washing at night and on Sundays. Also, the psychic job of serving as family cheer leader and sustaining family members through the strain and upheavals of war has fallen largely on her. For not only to sons away in war, but to the rest of the family as well, she has always been the rock of refuge, and has had to carry on indomitably when she was longing herself for a covert from the storm.

In addition to all this, she has seen her revered title brought into derision by racketeers in sentimentality and by crackpot and alleged seditious groups of organized women.

In view of what she has faced, it might seem that "Mom" should be the one to revolt. Too much has been expected of her in the past, and in doing it she has had too little help from "Pop," as well as from society. Small wonder she assumes such importance in the eyes of her sons in battle when homemaking and family rearing have been such wholly feminine jobs. Nor have communities done much in the way of recreation and social life to release children from "Mom's" apron strings.

If women, in rearing the next generation of children, get more assistance from schools, churches, public health agencies and from marriage partners who are educated to a greater sense of responsibility in the home, there will be much less danger of their becoming either matriarchs or maternal vampires.

• The true use of speech is not so much to express our wants as to conceal them.

—Oliver Goldsmith

• A distraught father flew to meet his missing daughter who abandoned her clothing on a Golden Gate swimming beach and vanished.

The worried mother remained at home and said, "I believe she did it thoughtlessly and realizes now how the rest of us feel about it."

Let's think more about the feelings of others, please.

• Everybody knows that "Yankee Doodle went to town", but most people don't know where he came from. "Yankee Doodle" was one of the eighteen songs in the two-act American comic opera, "The Disappointment: or, the Force of Credulity," presented in Philadelphia in 1767.

• Knting is to woman, says a syndicate psychologist, as smoking is to man. Not exactly. She doesn't leave her dropped stitches around for others to tidy up.

—Detroit News

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When Kids Were Giant-Killers

By Malcolm W. Bingay

From his column "Good Morning" in the Detroit Free Press

STICKING out my chest a little bit further than usual, I can say that I have lived through the horse-and-buggy age, the steam age, the electric age and hope to live long enough to see this new atomic or electronic age well established.

What part did I play in all this that I should be so boastful?

I paraphrase, in answer, the retort of the French scholar after the Revolution: "I survived!".

You children of this present generation are panty-waists compared to us rugged frontiersmen who lived in that age before the Continent of Science was explored.

Now you just press a button and the room is filled with gorgeous light (See Edison ads.) But when I was a boy we kids had to fight our way through the snows of winter and the rains of summer every day to reach the corner grocery store that we might have our family kerosene cans filled. If we didn't there would be no lights in the house. Remember, O ye fellow ancients, how the grocer always put a potato on the spout so that we would not spill the contents?

Then there were lamp chimneys to clean and wicks to watch. That was our job as boys. And at night we went to bed by the light of candles—to save oil. Cold, too, in winter. We didn't have any furnaces with nice clean coal or oil or gas. We just piled into bed and froze until we warmed ourselves.

Our only entertainment in those non-scientific days was an occasional magic lantern show with bright colored slides. Then came the strange rumor —, not unlike those now about the releasing of atomic energy—that a man named Edison had invented pictures that moved.

"Such silly nonsense!" my Old Man said. "These newspapers! You can't believe a word they say."

But there came a day at old Wonderland when such pictures were advertised. Reporters and editors were given what we call a pre-view. And the headlines on the front page of the papers the next day proclaimed: "They ACTUALLY move!" Galileo had nothing on our editors.

We saw them. Pictures of a train that swept along in shadowy shapes. And the drummer of the orchestra added a touch of realism by rubbing two brushes together, to make them sound like choo-choo.

In the same palace of Wonders there was the machine that talked. You put a penny in a slot and stuck two altogether unsanitary knobs in your ears. Then a cylinder spun and you heard a tenor sing, "After the Ball," or—much better—"The Raving of John McCullough," the insane actor who kept shrieking, "I am not mad!" But the climax was to hear the last words of some murderer, hanged in Chicago. He would squeak out, "I go to my death an innocent man!"

As that was the last line, the machine clicked and we always thought that that was best, in the belief that

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the click was the sound of the trap being sprung.

That telephone, too, which you now seem to feel is your social right by constitutional enactment, children, was also a rare novelty back in our pioneer days. A few business concerns began to install them and smart druggists in each neighborhood had them but no residences—except, perhaps the filthy rich.

Simple people like ourselves were afraid of the thing. We did as we saw others do and put a tube against our ear. But when some mysterious voice coming out of a box would angrily demand, "Who is this?" we would give our name in full, our address and our occupation, if any.

I was always puzzled by the fact that so many men, without ever seeing me and, to me, only a voice in a box, seemed to guess right away that I was a damned fool. At least that is what they said, as they told us to "get off the line." This also added to our bafflement as we could not see any line to get off of.

Then the glorious adventure of going over on the ferry to Windsor to take a ride on a horseless street car, actually run by electricity. Windsor had that contraption long before Detroit did.

In our later years how we thrilled at the sound of music that came through a piece of quartz into which we stuck a needle.

We could actually hear sounds from Pittsburgh!

And now you kids are bored because a talkie at the treatre is not sufficiently sophisticated or the New York Symphony Orchestra is not playing Wagner or Beethoven with just the right nuances to suit your sensitive souls!

Yes, indeed, children, we had to be tough-fibered men in those days. We got our sturdy physiques by chopping wood—beech and maple—so Mother could cook "supper." Now they are planning to freeze "dinners" so you can just telephone the grocer to send over plates for eight—with hors d'oeuvres and soup.

A horseless carriage that went 20 miles an hour was the beginning of the end of the world. Henry Ford proved his first car was practical when he made it climb over that bridge on the North Grand Blvd., east of Woodward.

And now, atomic energy!

JUST HANDY MEN AROUND THE HOUSE

• Several burglars engaged in a good night's work, removed a radio, five cases of whiskey and other articles of respectable value from a saloon. In departing they opened a rear window of the building which had been stuck for years.

• Headline in *The Chicago Daily News:*
"Woman Who Has Child by Married Man Creates Problem for Herself, Not Betrayed Wife."
Obviously.

• "The American forces cleaned out the cells thoroughly at the Yokohama civilian prison when they took it over, using using up in two days a supply of the DDT insecticide normally good for thirty days."
—*The New York Times*

They certainly were busy busy.

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Answer—Imperative

By Marquis Childs

From his column "Washington Calling" in The Washington Post

THE crimes of the Nazis were so revolting and on such a scale that they left a sense of shock and horror. We found it hard to believe that human beings could commit such acts.

But the human memory is short lived. The horrors of Maidenek and Dachau are like an evil nightmare which we want to put out of mind.

One reason may be because our own consciences are troubled. On the face of such mass crimes, there is a kind of collective responsibility. All mankind stands at the bar of justice.

The death factories and the horror camps have been destroyed. The surviving victims are being built back to health. That was fairly easy.

It is proving less easy to combat the vicious poisons that generated these horrors. From all reports, anti-semitism is a political reality throughout Europe. Although the Nazis liquidated four million or five million Jews—no one knows the exact number — the survivors are finding their lot extremely difficult.

Partly, this grows out of the propaganda that the Nazis sowed all over the world. If the atomic bomb leaves behind deadly radio activity, as some scientists say it does, the propaganda of hate and fear, likewise, leaves behind deadly infections in men's minds. Partly, the reason for Europe's current anti-semitism is the old, familiar one—economic insecurity.

The Germans were diabolically clever. Their own gauleiters and torturers took the juicy prizes wrested from the Jews in occupied countries, such as the ownership of department stores and other properties. To natives of the occupied countries, however, they gave the small rewards: The little jobs, the small privileges and perquisites.

This last adds up to a sizable total when you consider that seven to eight million European Jews were pushed out of the economic order entirely. Five years have passed since that happened.

To try to make present job-holders, be they Czechs, French, Belgians, or whatever, step out in favor of the Jews who held those positions is all but impossible. Even new liberal governments with the best will in the world are coming up against that blank wall.

What about migrating out of Europe, then? Isn't that a solution for Europe's million and a half surviving Jews? Here is another blank wall.

Immigration and quota systems operate in every country in the world to keep out all but a trickle of Europe's unwanted. That was true before the war. It is even more true today. In 1938, at a Refugee Conference in Evian, France, representatives of the major powers met to try to find some haven for men and women persecuted for race, religion or political beliefs. In the course of that conference, the rep-

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resentative from Australia, a country nearly as large as the United States, with a population of 7,000,000, said this:

"Gentlemen, we in Australia have no racial problem, thank God, and we do not intend to have one started."

That remark sums up the futility of the Evian Conference. Nothing was done. Millions marched into the death factories.

The Zionists say that the only door left open is a Jewish state in Palestine. About a half million Jews have gone there to form what is a flourishing community. They make what seems to me a very strong case.

At this point, however, you come up against a controversy boiling just beneath the surface of world news. The Arabs in the Middle East want to keep out any more Jews. Their leaders say they will fight to keep them out.

The British apparently take this threat seriously. They just sent the Regent of Iraq home on a battleship as he loudly denounced the plan for any influx of Jews into Palestine.

Palestine may not be the final answer. But the world must find an answer. Anti-semitism, as we have learned to our immense sorrow, is a poison that destroys both the poisoner and the poisoned.

THE ULTIMATE

• Music-lovers should appreciate Mayor La Guardia's ovation to Beethoven's Ninth symphony. "The Ninth symphony is about the greatest piece of music ever written. It is a sort of spiritual and musical compound, a sedative, a vitamin, a tonic and a stimulant. Folks, as the opening bars start, you relax. As its unfolds, you reach out and hold your wife's hand."

YE GOODE OLDE DAYS

• Things aren't what they used to be. The town of Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, has undergone a face-lifting. An ordinance just enacted changes the name of Whiskey Alley, in Ward One, to Wood Street; Whiskey Alley, in the East End, to Hessell Street; Cider Alley to Church Street, and Sherry Alley to Cherry Street. At last report Strawberry, Blackberry, Locust and Fruit Alleys were unchanged.

• And Tulsa, Oklahoma, has also undergone a change. The town had an ordinance limiting the public kiss to three minutes, so that traffic in the downtown areas would not be slowed up. The mayor, however, has decreed that the elapsed time of a public kiss must hereafter not exceed one minute. He explains: "Just streamlining things a little more."

• In a courtroom in the Arkansas hills, the judge drawled: "Who's the defendant here?"

A lean character in the jury box arose and said, "I'm him."

"What are you doing in that jury box?" asked the judge.

"They picked me," was the reply.

"You can't be both the defendant and a juror," pointed out the judge.

"No?" asked the hillbilly. "I was thinkin' I was kinda lucky."

—Sporting Goods Dealer

• Egyptian priests, it has been discovered, used an early form of the steam engine to open temple doors mysteriously.

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Civil vs. Military Control

The clash between General MacArthur and Dean Acheson points up an old problem.

CIVIL AUTHORITY

In the eyes of Senator Wherry, Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson appears to have been guilty of a peculiarly heinous form of *lese majeste* — simply because he asserted civilian authority over the military. But the primacy of the civilian government is a cornerstone of this, or any other, republic. Generals occasionally need to be reminded of this fundamental fact. They are chosen to be executors of policy. But policy itself is far too important to entrust the determination of it to military minds.

General MacArthur's statement respecting the reduction of our occupation forces in Japan had the effect of prejudicing at once our foreign policy in the Far East and our demobilization policy at home. He has, as we observed in commenting upon his statement when it was issued, "made the future in the Far East uncertain and ominous, since so much depends upon him." Mr. Acheson, as the acting custodian of our foreign policy, simply clarified intentions which the general had unfortunately beclouded in respect to Japan. It is, as Senator Barkley said, "perfectly ridiculous" to assert that he has blackened the name of anybody. He has merely, very properly, put a general in his place.

We have no doubt that the Acting Secretary of State was speaking for the administration—that is, for the government of the United States—when he declared that we intend to foster economic and social change in Japan, though, in all the circumstances, it would have been better if the President had been as explicit as Mr. Acheson was. We should have won the war to very little purpose were we content to reap less as its reward. The world, for which we are acting as a trustee in Japan, is certainly entitled to a candid declaration of our purpose in this regard.

—*Washington Post*

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LIGHT ON JAP OCCUPATION

The nature of the Japanese occupation problem comes clearer with Gen. MacArthur's declaration that American forces in the Jap islands may be cut to 200,000 within six months.

MacArthur knows the Japs in all their wiles and their thought-habits. He knows to what extreme weakness they have been reduced, shorn of land, naval and air power and raw materials, and living under the police might of the strongest nation on earth.

It is silly, therefore, to believe that a small occupation force means a "soft peace." If, within six months, 200,000 fully armed and alert soldiers, backed by powerful naval forces, can keep Japan quiet, that is the best news from the Orient since the surrender itself.

The State Department's consternation over the development seems at least a little premature. MacArthur serves under the General Staff. His chief is Gen. Marshall. Gen. Marshall's chief is President Truman.

In indorsing the MacArthur proposition, Truman's plain implication was that early estimates of occupation forces were necessarily high, because no one knew what would happen when our troops hit the beaches in Japan. Now we know that the task will be easier than was expected. Truman went even further and suggested that European occupation forces may be cut, thereby making possible faster over-all demobilization.

MacArthur made it clear that Japan's future political structure would depend upon Japanese behavior and, in any event, will be decided by the highest diplomatic levels of the United Nations. It is there that State Department interest becomes a factor.

—Detroit Free Press

OUR POLICY IN JAPAN

The controversy between Gen. MacArthur and Dean Acheson of the State Department regarding American policies in Japan is unfortunate.

The controversy emphasizes the fact that the Jap surrender seems to have caught us unprepared for the task of occupation. It indicates that, up to this point, the State Department and the Army have not been working in close harmony.

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The State Department is the instrument through which the American people formulates its policies in dealing with other nations. The Army of occupation is the instrument through which these policies are administered in the conquered and occupied countries. They must work together.

We must not have a repetition of the situation that existed from 1918 through 1920 when our American Expeditionary Force in Siberia was enforcing one policy toward the Russian people and the State Department was enforcing another.

The Army went into Siberia in 1918 under direct orders from President Wilson to maintain strict neutrality as between the Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik forces. The State Department pursued a policy of opposing the Bolsheviks.

The two departments must be prepared to act together to modify policies, if the need arises, without producing inter-departmental conflicts.

—*Chicago Daily News*

LACK OF POLITICAL INSIGHT

. . . There are other signs that General MacArthur, an undisputed master of warfare, dangerously lacks the political insight needed for a successful occupation policy in Japan. The newspaper *Asahi* is lightly penalized after printing an article implying not only that American reports about Japanese atrocities are untrue, but that they are distributed in Japan to cover up American atrocities against Japanese. Thus, General MacArthur reaps the cost of the vague censorship directive he belatedly published eight days ago, when of course every Japanese outlet, press and radio should have been placed under pre-publication control immediately after landing, or at least warned against heavy consequences of any such impudent and dangerous psychological warfare. Whether or not *Asahi* resumes publication—and it appears to be under only temporary suspension—it has succeeded in warning the Japanese people to believe nothing of what they will read in future about Japanese atrocities; the real atrocities are American.

General MacArthur is understood to have assured Japanese industrialists that they will get every support in rebuilding Japan's economy. On what terms? On the terms that enabled five family trusts to keep the mass of Japanese, rural and urban alike, in such grinding economic slavery that they were eager to enrich themselves by conquest? The general has not clarified.

It all makes for a disquieting sense that General MacArthur's rosy plan to get American boys home now contains the threat

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that many more American boys will be sent later to die in a welter of unfinished business.

—*San Francisco Chronicle*

MacARTHUR, ACHESON

The staff officers of General MacArthur were very correct in pointing out an important paragraph in his statement that the occupation forces in Japan could be reduced to 200,000 regulars in six months, the statement which brought a spirited response from Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson.

That paragraph read: "The questions involved in this matter are entirely independent of the future of Japan's politico-governmental structure. This problem is one the ultimate solution of which necessarily awaits completion of military phases of the surrender. It is one which unquestionably will be determined upon the highest diplomatic levels of the United States."

In other words, General MacArthur understands that his duty is to carry out the surrender terms on the ground, such as dissolving the Japanese Imperial Headquarters, disarming the troops, breaking up the secret societies, arresting the war criminals and the other technical details incidental upon the physical demobilization of the Japanese nation. The decisions as to the future political, social and economic structure of Japan must be determined, as he said, "upon the highest diplomatic levels of the United States."

If General MacArthur in his considered judgment believes that 200,000 regular troops can police Japan, then that judgment should be respected. As supreme commander in Japan, it is his business to make such estimates and not to keep any more men than are actually needed. The Japanese thus far are meekly carrying out the surrender terms, and it is this cooperation which directed General MacArthur to issue his statement.

It is good to get from the State Department a statement that this country intends to carry out a stern policy in Japan, "that Japan will be put in a position where it cannot renew aggressive warfare, that the present economic and social system of Japan which makes for a will to war will be changed so that that will to war will not continue and whatever it takes to carry this out will be used to carry it out.

This means that the economic structure of Japan, dominated by a handful of families which ran the industry, trade and commerce and exploited their own people as though they were colonial natives, will be smashed. This means that the alliance of the industrialists and the military will be destroyed. This

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means that the social system, with its heavy emphasis upon Shintoism, will be made over. This means that the United States will seek to democratize Japan. Whether these changes will come by bloodless or open revolution cannot be predicted, but what Acting Secretary of State Acheson is talking about is revolution.

—*Providence Evening Bulletin*

ACHESON'S CONFIRMATION

The effort of a few Senate isolationists and reactionaries to intimidate Dean Acheson's brand of liberalism in the State Department has backfired beautifully. First, 12 Republicans were smothered by 66 votes in the move to return Mr. Acheson's nomination as Under-Secretary of State to committee. Next, the hysterical Senator Wherry of Nebraska found himself voting alone against 69 senators who confirmed the appointment.

The attack on Mr. Acheson resulted from his timely declaration that Gen. MacArthur was the instrument and not the maker of policy on Japan, and that we mean to change the "economic and social system in Japan which makes for a will to war." The attack was ridiculous—but the upshot is not. Overwhelming support given Mr. Acheson now makes it far clearer than for long that civilian authority, which should prevail, *can* prevail over the military as regards the objectives and policies of occupation abroad. And it strengthens the progressive wing of the State Department.

The department needs far more re-organization to be the agency it ought to be for American democracy. But Mr. Acheson's rise to a key position, his triumph over the howls of the Wherryites, and the recent replacement of certain members of the conservative "Japan school" in the department by relatively more realistic members of the "China school," are grounds for hope. We can be confident, for example, that Mr. Acheson and his fellow-thinkers will not be taken into camp by the smug special pleading of Hirohito in behalf of his throne and a go-slow-on-democracy policy for Japan.

—*Chicago Sun*

STOP FEUDING WITH MacARTHUR

Conflict between Washington and General MacArthur over occupation policies in Japan cannot fail to injure the Allied cause and weaken our hand in Asia.

There is no point to this controversy and it should be halted.

If MacArthur has bungled the job of Allied Supreme Commander he should be replaced. If his progress in enforcing the surrender terms is satisfactory he should be backed up by the government and left free of unjustified sniping.

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The general's unwise prediction that he would probably require no more than 200,000 American troops in Japan after six months was bound, of course, to bring to a head his differences with the State Department.

The Supreme Commander unquestionably erred in naming any definite figure for occupation forces six months from now because it is difficult to see how anyone, as Mr. Truman remarked, could foresee what the actual needs will be so far ahead.

But there is no reason to flay MacArthur alive for his prediction or even to fear for a moment that it would give an impression of weakening American determination to crush Japan. We must remember that the combat troops under MacArthur want nothing so much as to get home and that any indication from him that efforts will be made to cut the occupation forces is a great lift to their morale.

The disturbing thing about the latest flare-up against MacArthur, however, is not the immediate cause of it but the fact that the differences between the Commander and the State Department even were allowed to get a start.

They wouldn't have developed if the Department had had a clear policy for the occupation and rule of conquered Japan from the very outset, with correlated policies for the temporary government of Korea.

MacArthur was sent into Japan on his own, without the aid of civil administrators, without proper liaison between the policy-makers in Washington and the military command in Japan. It was he who took what he describes as "the greatest gamble in history" when he led a handful of men into a country teeming with armed millions and proceeded to subject it to Allied will.

It was he who was shoved out on a limb, while swivel-chair patriots far from Tokio sneered at his efforts, ignored the handicaps facing him and even insinuated that the man who had been fighting Japs from December 7, 1941, and who advanced steadily from Australia to Hirohito's palace, was about to allow the enemy a "soft peace."

It is now made known that a special emissary may soon be sent from Washington to establish improved policy contacts with MacArthur. That is something that should have been done long ago. The Commander has to be kept informed of wanted plans if he is to carry them out. It is essential that our own political policies for Japan, whatever they are, be kept co-ordinated with those for military occupation.

—*Philadelphia Inquirer*

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Auditors

This is the last that we shall hear of thunder
  Knocking at walls of the sky, scaring the bird,
Splitting the rounded wholeness of space asunder,
  Stopping the speech of our mouths with its larger word.
Henceforth, since summer is ended, now, is dying,
  And this is the last of the summer storms to fall,
We'll listen, by day, to the sound of the wild geese crying,
  Or the loosened leaf, in the night, lonely and small.

When the geese are gone, and the sky gone empty of sound,
  And the last leaf, gone, bequeathes us silence only,
We shall walk in a world where our foot-falls over the ground,
  Alone, in the frozen stillness, and small and lonely,
Will be the sound to remind the straining ear
Of the way it was today, with the thunder here.

DAVID MORTON

Traveller's Return

Now, in the last few moments of your sleeping,
  Before your slow and wondering return
From countries that have had you in their keeping,
  I watch you with solicitous concern
For what had been, out there, your way of faring:
  What suns went over, with what shadows cast,
What good or evil, with what stars preparing,
  What wood you loitered in, what, hurried past.

Wake, now: the sky is wide and round and blue,
  And earth is spread with hospitable green,
And, here, the sweet and usual things to do.—
  Come, tell me if the countries you have seen
Held aught more to your liking, now, than this
That I have called you back to—with a kiss.

DAVID MORTON

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Books in Brief

By Jasper R. Lewis

CHINA FROM DIFFERENT ANGLES

THOSE who look for encouragement in planning future trade relations with China will hardly find it in *China's Post-war Markets, A Study of China's Post-war Needs and Trade Opportunities,* by Chih Tsang (Macmillan, $3.50). This is a publication of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations. The author, who has been a resident here since 1939, representing his government, analyzes the needs of China after the war, and seems quite modest in his appraisal of the resources and ambitions of his country, industrially. When it comes to purchases of her needs, however, he expresses the frank opinion that American manufacturers will have but a temporary market, pending the re-establishment of German and Japanese industry.

His connection as an official of the Chinese government may be the basis of his opinion that China is no longer a divided country, but under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek "will in the end force all parties to settle their disputes by peaceful means." Also, he believes the Chinese government will play an even greater part in the development of industry; presumably that means more centralization.

Basing his estimates on pre-war supply and demand, his detailed evaluations of the prospective opportunities in each item are of interest, but they are also discouraging, from our standpoint, since in many things he believes China will become self-sufficient in production, even though at first the need for importations will be great.

With all due sympathy for the Chinese, some of his suggestions are distinctly one-sided. The export of American goods on long term commercial credits, while an advantage to China, is a distinct departure from pre-war conditions. Chinese exports have almost uniformly been on a letter of credit basis, and, it may be supposed, will be so again. Just how can a mutually satisfactory trade be built up on two opposite conditions? Other countries, Germany, for instance, may have followed such a procedure. In the heavy goods field or the larger industries—steel, oil, transportation—the Chinese government may hold monopolies, and government financing may enter the picture. In private trade, however, the question of payment will be a considerable obstacle.

If the author's opinions seem to run counter to American optimism, it may be a wholesome check on over-indulgence in unattainable hopes. The idea that a re-awakened China, with 400,000,000 prospective customers, should prove a tremendous market for our wares and services, evidently needs revising.

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It is satisfying to read *China's Crisis,* by Lawrence K. Rosinger (Knopf, $3.00), for several reasons. One is that the language is direct and without attempts to gloss over Chinese faults; another is that it is a fair estimate of the Chungking administration, and a third is its plain American horse-sense of political and industrial values. Admitting that China's cause was well "sold" to the American public—and justifiably—Rosinger thinks it is time that sane re-appraisal is made not only in our own interest, but also in the effort to help China find itself.

One of Rosinger's early assertions is that the Chiang Kai-shek regime is as totalitarian as any. There is no unity in China, and from later chapters, this seems due to Chungking's insistence on one-party government: it's own. A good deal of this criticism we have read before, although infrequently. The small group around Chiang Kai-shek seemed more earnest in its efforts to retain political power than in its struggles against Japan. The part of the North China armies—the Chinese Communists—appeared directed more to this end, and to the democratization of the peasantry. The term Communist sounds inadequate; the adherents might be communistic, but firstly they are nationalists. The Chungking group is given the attributes of a political party in the United States, and the dream of Dr. Sun Yat Sen—of political freedom—is still a dream. Rosinger may not so assert, but it seems implied, that under Chiang Kai-shek it will remain a dream. The great need of China is for unity between the two factions; our government has been striving for that, but in this book there appears an undertow of political currents to support Chiang's position as possibly an offset to Communist strength.

The economic position of the greater portion of the population is portrayed as close to starvation levels, and here again Chungking suffers by comparison with North China. The former's supporters are the large landowners and profiteering merchants; the North China forces are dependent on the small farmers and peasants — the poor. On top of this, the imposition of government controls on much of Chinese industry has served to stifle it. The co-operatives, which have been reported to have done so much to further China's battle, are said to be suffering from the ailments of decline in value of working capital, shortages of raw material and inflated costs.

The interests of the United States do not stop with helping China win her war. Post-war markets and preserving the peace are just as important. For these aims a strong, democratic China is essential, and the Chungking regime is neither strong nor democratic. Our efforts to induce a change there are too well known to be repeated here, although Rosinger briefly and cogently reviews them. One important point, however cannot be neglected. The author remarks: "For a situation might arise in which most of China's military and political powers would lie elsewhere than in Chungking." The implications of that thought, not as a

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threat, since it is fathered by an American, should serve to make us realize the gravity of the internal situation in China.

There is still another angle from which to observe China, and one which, while in a lighter mood, will make for discouragement among students of the Chinese problem. *Flight from China* by Edna Lee Booker (Macmillan, $2.50), is the story of the Potter family's routine life in Shanghai before its capture by the Japanese, and then the hardships of life under the conquerors. It is well written; Miss Booker is a seasoned foreign correspondent. Unfortunately, it pictures China with eyes from the right side of the track: the tiffins, army of household servants, the British club, etc., with the accent on social life as practiced by Western residents before the war. The Chinese depicted are mostly either the leading lights or the servants; the poverty of the masses is not emphasized. The hardships are largely personal inconveniences.

Miss Booker was one of the fortunates who left China while it was still possible to get to America. Where she leaves off, on the day of Pearl Harbor, her husband and collaborator, John S. Potter, takes up the thread, which shortly led to an internment camp. Mr. Potter, as an American businessman, is direct in his statements, but is also partial to the people he knows, the top few of the foreigners. His picture of the internee's life is likewise direct, and while it shows it to be harsh and cruel, it does not seem as horrible as other stories we have read. He also pays little attention to the common herd.

The discouragement comes from the realization that the people—the westerners—the Potters are interested in are all believers in the unchanged kind of world our boys have fought to save from dictatorship. There is little sympathy for the Chinese as people, only regret at their suffering the loss of the easy-going privilege of serving the foreigners. One gets the feeling that the Potters had some trying experiences, but never really knew what World War II was about.

Comes another light treatment of China, which even in the form of fiction is worthy of note for its revelations of Chinese life and character. *Rickshaw Boy* by Lau Shaw (Reynal and Hitchcock, $2.75), is the life story of Happy Boy, born in the country, dragged up in Peking, told with pathos and humor, a fine portrait of authentic Chinese life. The translation is by Evan King, who has the gift of retaining Chinese flavor and atmosphere. It is delightful reading.

BRIEFER COMMENT

ECONOMICS

The objectives and workings of the consumer co-operatives are an important topic, and *Ourselves, Inc.; The Story of Consumer Free Enterprise,* by Leo R. Ward (Harper's $2.50), is an attempt to illustrate the principles from present and past efforts. Despite the handicap of indifferent writing, it is worth while because it gives the co-ops' arguments against capitalism, even

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though it ignores any of the latter's virtues. The co-op movement is said to be growing world-wise in leaps and bounds; Ward presumably expects it to cure all ills—material and spiritual. He doesn't even give capitalism credit for research and development. He details the growth of co-ops in the Middle West, in farming and mining country, and certainly shows they have their advantages. While it is definitely propaganda it is something worth knowing about, as a force that may be of importance in the future.

WAR

In years to come, when the present crop of war books has duly matured and become reference volumes, somewhere up near the top will be *This Is Where I Came In,* by Robert J. Casey (Bobbs-Merrill, $3.00). Casey is not only a war correspondent who can write, but a reporter with a sense of the human angle. From May, 1940, when he watched the German advance into France at Longwy, to September, 1944, when he saw their retreat at the same spot, he covers the changing fortunes of the United Nations: in Africa, France, Germany and even a hop to Pearl Harbor. He talked to the brass but he hobnobbed with the G.I.'s, so he got the overall picture combined with vignettes of the plain foxhole heroes. It is all with a sincerity and simplicity that make it absorbing and realistic.

This man Casey gets around. Another new book of his is *Battle Below,* The War of the Submarines, (Bobbs-Merrill, $3.50). This saga of the pig boats and their personnel is made up not only of stories culled from Navy records, but personal experiences related by men Casey interviewed, or rather listened to, since it is all very informal. He has some excellent stories, some of them pretty tall and some pretty grim. Some have been told before. But I think the prize goes to the first offical report quoted in the Appendix, on a requisition for toilet paper. The Supply Officer at Mare Island in June, 1942, will have red ears.

Desert Episode by George Greenfield (Macmillan, $1.75). is a fictional account of the fighting in the desert and in the battle of El Alamein. The author, as a captain in a British battalion, gives impressions of combat and men's reactions to military life, of course from the Britisher's viewpoint and in his own vernacular. There isn't much fiction to it, except its form; it is a record of one group's warfare.

Another story of American submarine life is contained in *Silversides,* by Robert Trumbull (Holt, $2.50). It is the detailed history of the submarine's voyages in the Pacific, its maneuvering, attacks on Japanese shipping, successes and tough spots, compiled from the tales of the officers of the ship. It is interesting, but without humor or particular brilliance.

HUMOR

Since a little nonsense is relished, etc., it is in order to admit there's many a laugh in *Funny Business,* edited by Marione D. Derrickson

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and John Bailey (Whittlesey House, $2.50). There are nearly 300 cartoons, all from the pages of the *Satevepost,* and sure to be enjoyed by men in uniform, here or abroad, as well as civilians.

Another is *Stop Or I'll Scream,* edited by Gurney Williams, (McBride, $2.00). These are garnered from *Collier's* and are a little more sophisticated than those of the former volume. Satire and lunacy go hand in hand.

FICTION

The struggle for adjustment between two levels of society is shown in raw-meat fashion in *Hunky Johnny,* by Edward Nichols (Houghton, Mifflin, $2.50). Its background is the Slovak element that works the steel mills in Gary, Indiana; the story tells the efforts of Johnny to mix with the "whites." Johnny's hankering after girls and his ways with them are the index to his character. It's fair reading if you like novels touching on the foibles of youth, somewhat untamed and sometimes just gross.

Isabel de Palencia has a difficult task in *Smouldering Freedom* (Longman's, $3.00). In this she describes the tragedy of Spain under Franco, whom she doubtless abhors, and her account of conditions in Spain gives good reason. But her evident approval of the Asturias cannot serve to enlist the reader's sympathy to any great extent, because few Americans recall the reigning Spanish family with any degree of warmth or admiration. Her book does, however, give an insight into Franco's Spain, and its part, if only an ignoble one, in the recent war.

Beneath the Stone by George Tabori (Houghton, Mifflin, $2.50) is an odd story of an English captain dropped from a parchute in the Balkans and taken prisoner by a Nazi major. The telling weaves back and forth to give the major's background and set the stage for a surprise climax. It is at times absorbing and at times drawn out and verbose. It deals with German espionage and the weaknesses of men —and women.

BORN OF THE BOOK

• A couple of weeks ago the Dail Eireann had need of the services of Noah Webster. A lively debate was introduced about the meaning of the word "republic", following the declaration of Mr. de Valera that five articles of Eire's Constitution fitted the definition in several English and American dictionaries. Loud protest was uttered by Mr. Dillon, who said that if they asked even the humblest American on the street, "What is your nation?" he would throw out his chest and reply, "We are a Republic." And if they asked the most downtrodden citizen of the Netherlands what was his nation, he would answer, "We are a kingdom; long live the Queen." "But here in Ireland," Mr. Dillon continued, "the oldest nation of them all, when they asked the Premier what they were, he said, 'Look at the British Encyclopedia.' "

Continuing the protest, Dr. Thomas O'Higgins said with indignation, that he thought a republic born through the instrumentality of the dictionary could scarcely be classified as a birth at all.

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The Theatre Arts

By John Gassner

THE first peace-time theatrical season since 1939 opened late in September without fanfare and without any appreciable difference of mood or content. There were, it is true, a few rumblings of a new dispensation for the catch-as-can stage unhealthily centralized in Manhattan: devoid of plan and purpose, parsimonious in utilizing the resources of two thousand years of dramatic literature, indifferent to the necessity of fostering repertory companies without which real ensemble acting is an impossibility. Conversations in political circles pointed to new efforts to establish a subsidized and decentralized theatre, but the eventuality was set in some distant future, while the British Exchequer is already subsidizing London's two repertory theatres. Margaret Webster and Cheryl Crawford started planning — and actually financing — an American Repertory Theatre, to be operated commercially, but this was not to materialize before September, 1946. Civic projects seemed destined for continuation. The New York City Center started its third opera-ballet-drama season and the Dallas Little Theatre under the brilliant Margot Jones had ambitious plans. But no expansion of municipal enterprises was discernible.

The motion pictures continued their policy of financing Broadway plays, but with far less concern for the welfare of the theatre than for the procurement of story properties for the screen. Hollywood's best contributions to the drama have been strictly cinematic and not derivative. Whenever this has been the case, in *Pride of the Marines* and *The Lost Weekend,* the screen has indeed put the stage to shame, although this has happened, and is likely to happen, infrequently. Radio acquired significant content and literateness from the new Theatre Guild of the Air, but this has not advanced the art of radio drama. The program merely transcribes the Theatre Guild's stage plays, very much as the first "talkies" did, without resourceful adaptation to the medium of the air-waves. Radio drama is bound to look like a pale and inadequate imitation as long as its inherent possibilities remain unrealized. The technique of the Theatre Guild of the Air retreats from the dramatic outposts won for radio by Archibald MacLeish, Arch Oboler and Norman Corwin.

The first Broadway opening was the flaccid musical *Mr. Strauss Goes to Boston.* Its thin thread involved the Waltz-King in Barnum publicity, in puerile complications with 1890 equivalents of bobby-sox swooners, and in an abortive romance with a Boston blue-stocking until the arrival of Mrs. Strauss from Vienna scotches the efforts of the composer's impressario to publicize him as an eligible bachelor. On the whole, this musical was

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executed with leering tastelessness and baroque splendiferousness. The humor was abominable, and the complications never rose above the level of second-hand romanticism. The play had all the faults of old-fashioned operetta without the redeeming virtue of good music. Except for two or three numbers, it dispensed with the immortal part of Strauss, his music. A musical about Strauss without Strauss compositions is an absurdity. Robert Stolz, who supplied most of the music, is justly reputed for his "Two Hearts in Waltz-Time," but he is a poor substitute for Johann Strauss, especially when it isn't Mr. Stolz who goes to Boston.

After a week's respite, the season started in earnest with five openings. The first, *The Ryan Girl,* was written and directed by the noted Hollywood director, Edmund Goulding, absent from Broadway since 1922, when he supplied Helen Hayes with her vehicle, *Dancing Mothers.* The occasion had news value and interest for theatre and film addicts, as it brought Edmund Lowe back to the stage and provided the delightful June Havoc with her first "straight" —that is, non-musical—role. Lowe was decidedly effective as a returning gangster, and Miss Havoc was personally captivating as his wife and the mother of a son she had turned over to a friend many years before. Apparently neither of them was up to the mark set by the Philadelphia tryout performance, which won both performers enough plaudits to make the essentially scattered play look better than it actually is. Broadway dissented from Philadelphia most emphatically, and found the play wordy and ineffectual. Goulding had announced the return of good old melodrama with his play, and something may be said for this vanishing form; it was theatrically effective for many generations. The trouble with *The Ryan Girl* was that it did not come off as exciting melodrama; the first act was intolerably talky, and there was scant drive in the complications of a criminal trying to win immunity by threatening to divulge the fact that an aviator hero is his son. The climactic act in which June Havoc, the aviator's mother, kills Lowe in order to safeguard her son is more dramatic, but loses force from too many pauses presumably intended to signify inner conflict. Had the principals been able to fuse the disparate elements of the play through the incandescence of their performances the faults would have been less conspicuous. This was not the case at the Broadway opening. It was apparent that Goulding had attempted to combine gangster melodrama, mother-love tragedy and psychological realism in a single play. The feat is not impossible, but requires greater expertness and depth. *The Ryan Girl* was melodrama, without consistent melodramatic tautness, and psychological drama which was continually at odds with the melodrama. The play was, at the same time, weighed down by the kind of old-fashioned writing one does not associate with psychology, which is the most modern of dramatic resources.

A good deal was expected from the next opening, *You Touched Me!*

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It was based on a short story by D. H. Lawrence; one of the collaborators was none other than Tennessee Williams, who was still wearing laurels received for *The Glass Menagerie,* and the producer-director was Guthrie McClintic. The veteran Edmund Gwenn gave a superb virtuoso performance as the British sea-captain who had lost his ship and his nerve, had succumbed to the cobra ministrations of a spinsterly sister, and had found solace in hundred per cent proof whiskey. If there is more than a suspicion of hamming in his performance, it is at least expert hamming. As such, it provided the only relief in a comedy which mixed sophomoric symbolism (with seeming borrowings from Shaw's *Heartbreak House*) and a tiresome romance. The charity-boy, Hadrian, adopted by the captain because the lad had had an affecting way of playing "Danny Boy" on a whistle, grows up to be an aviator and rescues the captain's shy daughter from the inhibiting influence of her aunt. Long before the evening is over one tires of her indecision, although she is played appealingly by Marianne Stewart, who outdistanced Annabella as the heroine of *Jacobowsky and the Colonel,* when she succeeded the French film star. Long before the evening is over, one also tires of Hadrian, who represents modernity and speaks glowingly of life and the future, but waits monotonously for the girl to fall into his arms like a ripe plum. And Montgomery Clift, who plays Hadrian, was a distressingly wearisome hero. It is conceivable that Alfred Lunt, a dozen years ago, could have made a lively Hadrian and saved a goodly portion of the play. Montgomery Clift performed with cold and patient deliberation, registering scant amusement over the aunt's melodramatics and even less mastery over her niece. The most charitable view of the play would be to concede that the authors got very little assistance from the production. But they cannot be exempted from the charge of fuzzy dramaturgy and the creation of a heroine who is incredible—or, if believable, is uninteresting. It is a common fallacy of playwriting to want to exact great concern from audiences for that which is objectively unworthy of concern except theoretically or in principle. It is difficult for anyone to care whether the heroine of *You Touched Me* is released from virginal catatonia or plunged into the unrealized stream of life which the hero trumpets so nobly but represents so ineptly.

It was otherwise when the third opening rolled around. *Deep Are the Roots,* by Arnaud d'Usseau and James Gow, the authors of *Tomorrow the World,* is absorbing theatre in its own right. It is made even more engrossing by a production directed by Elia Kazan, who has become Broadway's top-notch director in addition to covering himself with honors as the screen director of *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn.* In a perfect ensemble, moreover, you will find Barbara Bel Geddes giving a performance which may be ranked with the finest in many years. It is impossible to imagine a more difficult part than that of the Southern ingenue, Genevra, who is in love with the returning Negro lieutenant, Brett Charles. The results, when Miss Bel Geddes augments the

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playwrights' lines with her personality and delivery, is infinitely appealing.

The machinery of the play creaks audibly when we are asked to believe that Brett would go swimming with a white girl in the deep South, when her sister Alice (who has been hitherto liberal and understanding) begins to behave like any red-necked planter, when the loss of a watch is used by her as an excuse for framing Brett, and when at the very end Brett, who has been jailed and beaten, elects to remain in the community as the principal of a Negro school. Yet the play is written so tautly that it holds our interest and sympathies from the beginning to the end. Its melodrama is rooted in character and environment, the plot hews continually to the central line, and the commentary on racial prejudice is exemplified in action instead of being conveyed by conversational digression. It may be said that the racial problem is exemplified by the least persuasive issue when Brett and Genevra are in love. But it is characteristic of the play to lock horns with the adversary without stint and without compromise. The love story is less extravagant when we consider, as the play points out, that white men have co-habited with Negro women continually; and in the play, co-habitation is never considered possible by either Brett or Genevra under present circumstances, nor is it advocated even ideally. But the authors seem to say that if we really believe in equality, if we really believe that all human beings are capable of the same emotions, the possibility of genuine love between Genevra and Brett must be acknowledged. And if so, it forms a powerful test of the pretensions of her elder sister to liberalism when she leaps to unwarranted conclusions and behaves atavistically. The title of the play is most apt—"deep are the roots" of racial intolerance. That the drama can offer no ready solution is obvious. The authors have no panacea. It is sufficient for dramatic purposes that they have forged a penetrating and perturbing human story out of the material of a real situation.

After *Deep Are the Roots,* the theatre slumped into an anticlimax with two honorable but unsuccessful efforts. The first, *Carib Song,* was a beautifully mounted Negro musical from which the producers must have expected another *Porgy and Bess.* To this end, they evoked the customs and beliefs of a West Indian village, and provided some thrilling exotic dancing by Katherine Dunham and her troupe, especially a superb snake-dance as part of the ritual of the Shango, a form of voodooism. They included some lovely singing by Harriet Jackson, who sang "Summer Time" in *Porgy and Bess;* her present song, "Sleep, Baby, Don't Cry," is every bit as melodious as the Gershwin number. Avon Long's rendering of "Woman is a Rascal" in song and dance was delightful. Mary Hunter's direction of the book was excellent, and Baldwin Bergerson's music, superbly conducted by Pembroke Davenport, was well above average. Nevertheless, a musical is like any other kind of play; it must arouse and sustain interest in what it tells. A hundred excellent fragments do not add up to a single good play. A farmer's wife

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falls in love with a fisherman, carries his child, becomes the subject of gossip and is murdered by her husband. This meager story creeps through the play at a snail's pace. It may be ungracious to say so, but *Carib Song* makes a painfully boring evening. It should be seen for its meritorious parts, if one wishes to pay the price of boredom. It is doubtful whether the public will be willing to pay that price.

Dan Totheroh's *Live Life Again* is, on the surface, even more "worthy." It is a verse play, and was admirably staged, on the whole, by Sawyer Falk, of the University of Syracuse. Its spirit and writing are indigenous. It possesses the integrity of tragedy, and its story is psychologically valid. It dispenses with every meretricious device for capturing attention. It has some moving touches, and a great deal of small-town reality. It dramatizes the half-articulate desires and anguish of real people.

It is not successful. There is nothing wrong with its story of a young mother-fixated son's hatred for his father. Interest deepens when this father, who had never enjoyed his wife's love, buries her without waiting for the son's return from school; when the boy suspects his father's motives; when the father marries his Swedish housemaid and the son concludes that his mother was poisoned and kills his father. An O'Neill tragedy is in the making. But the intensity of O'Neill is woefully absent here. This is due in part to the elementary succession of events in small, barren scenes. Above all, however, Totheroh's *Hamlet* is uninteresting; he has an uninteresting mind and spirit, whose verse dialogue is derivative and pretentious. He is a bedevilled neurotic whose devil is monotonous and arid. Tragedy can never be literal, never stick closely to the bare bones of an unfortunate situation, without becoming tiresome. No one likes to remain in a morass. A morass is virtually all we have in *Live Life Again*. Private suffering in tragic art somehow must involve the general as well as the particular, thereby elevating the tragic character. *Live Life Again* is particular, and therefore depressing rather than stimulating, clinical rather than provocative.

• Atoms in an ordinary kitchen stove emit enough invisible infra-red rays to permit the taking of photographs of nearby objects in total darkness with a photographic film sensitive to the rays.

• "Church suppers being impractical because of food rationing created a problem for the ladies' aid societies. One group we heard of nearly knocked themselves out trying to think of an original way to raise funds for the church treasury. They found just what they wanted. All contributions were carefully sewn under bright-colored patches on the pastor's shirt."

—*The New York Times*

The ministry is a long-suffering profession.

• "If this civilization of ours is so good, why did them dirty Japs imitate all our vices and none of our virtues?"

—*Detroit Free Press.*

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HIGHLIGHTING THE NEWS

The International Scene

Defeat of the Axis powers, decisively and unconditionally, has been the one aim of the nations of the world during these past few years. In this common purpose lay the unity of the United Nations. Now, however, this objective has been won and in its place each victorious nation has substituted new objectives, as wide and as varied as there are United Nations. Where these objectives coincide, we have agreement; where they conflict, discord. Only if the field of agreement can dominate the area of conflict can we have world peace.

THE FOREIGN MINISTERS DISAGREE

Little harmony was evidenced at the initial meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, held in London the last three weeks of September. The ministers even disagreed as to how they should inform the waiting world of their disagreement. The first attempt to outline the concrete details of the peace treaties can hardly be called a success.

The body of ministers was established by the Potsdam agreement for the purpose of continuing "the necessary preparatory work for the peace settlements and to take up other matters from time to time" referred to the Council. The foreign ministers concerned were those from the "five principal powers"—in this case, James F. Byrnes from the United States, Ernest Bevin from Great Britain, V. M. Molotov from the Soviet Union, Georges Bidault from France and Shih-chieh Wang from China. These men met on September 10 to begin preparation of peace treaties for Italy, Bulgaria, Rumania, Finland and Hungary. In a very short time they uncovered many problems that had been pushed aside during the war. The site of the conference was appropriate for, as Anne O'Hare McCormick said, "London is neither beaten like Berlin nor whole like San Francisco, but the battered, war-weary setting of the toughest stage of the peace conference." The business of peace had begun.

Molotov launched a diplomatic offensive in the first days of the conference and from that point until the end, the Anglo-American representatives tried to curtail Soviet ambition. Byrnes and Bevin were caught without concrete plans while friend Molotov read constantly from a long list of "suggestions." The French Bidault hoped for consideration of the plan to detach the Ruhr and the Rhineland from Germany, and hoped also that no one would propose trusteeship for Indo-China. Shih-chieh Wang hoped to bulwark Chinese independence in Asia. But by and large the proceedings were a contest between the United States and Great Britain on the one hand and Soviet Russia on the other.

Disagreement began with the question of a peace treaty for Italy.

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While the Italians feebly hoped for a trusteeship over some of their former colonies, the Big Three had other plans. Secretary Byrnes suggested that these territories be placed under the trusteeship of the United Nations and that after a period of time some of them be given their independence. So far so good. But the Big Three could not agree on the method of administering the territories: joint trusteeship or trusteeship by a single nation. Libya, Eritrea and Somaliland, said Byrnes and Bevin, the latter particularly wary of Russia in the Mediterranean, should be governed by an administrator directly responsible to the United Nations Organization. Molotov, however, proposed individual trusteeship with Russia as sole trustee for Tripolitania, Western Libya and Eritrea. Dispute on the Italian treaty did not end there. Quite the contrary. Aware of Russia's major part in defeating Germany, Molotov asked that the Italians pay reparations. Great Britain and the United States, mindful of the improbability of extracting any such payments, objected. Russia would like to see possession of Trieste in Yugoslav hands and the United States and Great Britain want it to go to Italy.

In the Balkans, the Russians accuse the British and Americans of intervention and declare that the Balkan governments are democratic and do represent a majority of the people. Elections will be held in due course and, meanwhile, treaties should be concluded. On the other hand, the British and Americans object to Russian domination of totalitarian governments in Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary and believe that treaties cannot be signed until free and unfettered elections can be held. In Greece, the Americans and British agreed to help supervise the elections and have said that they will recognize any government which the Greeks themselves choose. Here, the Russians believe that the Anglo-Americans are trying to bring back the king and the reactionary regime.

All these problems, and many more, make it clear that it will be some time before the peace treaties of World War II will be presented to the United Nations. The second session of the Council of Foreign Ministers will be held some time in November. In the meantime, the deputies will meet in permanent session laying the groundwork for it.

THE SON BOWS LOW

On the heels of his misunderstanding with Washington (see below), General Douglas MacArthur outlined a harsh and long-term renovation for the Japanese. "Japan, industrially, commercially, militarily and in every other way is in a state of complete collapse. Her food supplies are scarce and she faces conditions in this emergency that may well become catastrophic. Her punishment for her sins, which is just beginning, will be long and bitter."

The financial heart of the Japanese Empire was choked off on September 30 when United States troops seized 21 important banks in seven Japanese cities. At the same time the Finance Ministry was ordered

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to close the institutions through which the expansionist colonization process had operated and to hold in custody the officers and directors connected with them. It was said that the bulk of the Emperor's wealth was involved.

Other plans are being carried out to eliminate Japan's war potential. The Japanese Army will be entirely wiped out, the Japanese Navy and Japanese munitions plants will be destroyed. Former Premier Hideki Tojo, who botched a suicide attempt on September 11, has been arrested as a war criminal. Also under arrest and awaiting trial in the notorious Omori prison camp are Doihara and General Nobuyuki Abe, former governor general of Korea.

The control of the recovery of industry, the removal of nationalistic and militaristic influences, a change in form of government from oligarchy toward democracy, the establishment of religious freedom and civil liberties, the extraction of reparations—all these measures require time and a long occupation.

With typical Soviet impatience, however, Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotov and Generalissimo Stalin alike have criticized the American occupation policy. In a long report before the Council of Foreign Ministers (see above), Molotov registered Soviet discontent and suggested that an Allied Control Commission be established in Japan. Secretary of State Byrnes refused to discuss the question. Stalin voiced his criticism in an interview with an American newspaperman a week later. Whether these are merely comments or an indication of future Soviet policy remains to be seen.

DENAZIFICATION

In Germany, too, American, and Allied, goals are far from realized. There has been some progress of course—disarmament of the Wehrmacht has been completed, with the General Staff in custody and some of the leaders scheduled to go on trial as war criminals. Organization of local German-administered governments continues. Pre-war political groups have started to re-emerge. The purge of important Nazi political figures is being carried on. Ten per cent of the German industrial establishments in the American zone have resumed activity. On the other hand, however, purge orders have been disregarded in many instances, with the familiar argument of "expediency," and local German leaders still tend to exploit their positions in a Nazi-like fashion. About 6,000,000 of Germany's displaced persons have returned to Germany and an additional 6,000,000 are expected as soon as they can wend their way back to the fatherland. The instability of the moving population makes administration problems even more difficult.

Acting on the basis of a report made by Earl G. Harrison, American representative on the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, President Truman ordered General Eisenhower to put an end to the new abuses being inflicted upon the displaced Jews. Mr. Harrison's report, released on

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September 30, said in part, "As matters now stand, we appear to be treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them, except that we do not exterminate them. They are in concentration camps in large numbers under our military guard instead of S. S. troops." In his instructions to Eisenhower, President Truman commented, "I hope you will adopt the suggestion that a more extensive plan of field visitation by appropriate Army group headquarters be instituted, so that the humane policies which have been enunciated are not permitted to be ignored in the field."

CIVIL WAR IN CHINA?

The National Government in China and the Chinese Communists reached some agreement at the beginning of October in their efforts to prevent civil war. In effect, they agreed to submit a number of their outstanding differences to a projected political council, whose decision would be binding. This council, under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, is to consist of an equal number of representatives from the Central Government, the Communists, other parties and non-party groups. Thus, for the first time, outside groups will be given an opportunity to voice their opinions in this tense domestic situation.

The chief differences between the Kuomintang party dominating the government and the Communists are the questions: whether the Communists may retain their troops and administer their own territories. Having spread through north central and even south China during the war, the Communists have agreed to withdraw from the territory south of the Yangtze River and to demobilize certain of their troops. The Communists would like to retain their governors in four northern provinces. They object, further, to some of the issues involved in the convening of the People's Congress on November 12 to draw up a "democratic" constitution for China. According to the Communists, the delegates, chosen in 1936, are no longer representative of the people.

The new agreement was reached during the third set of official negotiations since May, 1944, between the two conflicting groups. The Communist leaders, Mao Tze-tung, General Chou and Wang, were escorted to Chungking by United States Ambassador Patrick J. Hurley, who lent his good offices to both sides.

"QUISLING, THE PATRIOT"

The man whose name branded arch traitors and Nazi collaborators in all the occupied countries pleaded for his life: "I am Quisling the patriot. I have done nothing wrong. I prevented Norway and the north from becoming a theatre of conflict and here I stand charged with treason. . . . Hitler gave me his word of honor. . . . It is certainly not my fault that Germany did not win the war." But the people whom he betrayed had no pity. On September 10, Major Vidkun Abraham Quisling was found guilty of treason, murder and theft and was sentenced to death.

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RELIEF ABROAD

The coffers of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration are being emptied. U.N.R.R.A. is providing full-scale relief to Greece, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Albania and Poland. Operations are being enlarged in China and Italy; Austria and Korea have recently been added to the list. Emergency relief is going to the Philippines and for the care of ex-slaves in the displaced persons' camps in Germany. All these arrangements involve great expenditures too great for the remaining funds.

Originally, when U.N.R.R.A. was set up, each non-invaded country promised one per cent of its 1943 annual income. Since then, however, the quota has been raised. From the United States, U.N.R.R.A. is now asking another $1,350,000,000 and from the other member nations another $500,000,000, a total matching their first contribution. Even the new assessment, U.N.R.R.A. announces, will not cover pending applications for relief.

"STRICTLY LONG-TERM"

The end of Lend-Lease came suddenly on August 21 when President Truman ordered its immediate termination and notified the Allied governments to take over through purchase $2,000,000,000 of non-munitious and finished goods for which they have contracted. Ever since then the British (specifically Lord Keynes) have been bargaining for some sort of agreement to take its place.

The root of the British problem is this: Britain has so used up her overseas assets and her foreign purchasing power, that she cannot operate during the next three years without a deficit of around $6,000,000,000. In September, the two countries began to discuss British difficulties. The United States could benefit also from a modification of Britain's pro-cartel policy, scaling-down of Britain's debts by the countries of the sterling group and relaxation of Empire trade preferences. The outcome of these talks may determine the character of long-run American and British economic policy.

The Domestic Scene

The nation last month found itself in a vague half-way land, a land that belonged neither to the war nor to the peace. The country was occupied with catching up all the loose ends of the war, and it was anxious to get on with the jobs of peacetime living. The policies adopted to write "finis" to World War II were often contradictory to policies undertaken to speed reconversion. Last month was a story of a nation not at peace, not at war.

THREE STRIKES AND THEY'RE OUT

V-J Day on the battlefields gave way to D-Day on the labor front. Although the nation as a whole was doing a good job in reconverting, and

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the overall picture was brighter than it was black, the attention of the country, nevertheless, was focussed on the wave of strikes which sprang, full-grown, from the wartime truce.

One of the most belligerent labor unions, the C. I. O.'s United Automobile Workers, made its position unequivocally known. To make up for loss of overtime pay, the union demanded a 30 per cent wage increase. The enterprise which it singled out for its trial post-war bout was the huge, sprawling General Motors Corporation. The U. A. W., after its first ultimatum, authorized its locals to settle for less temporarily. It petitioned the National Labor Relations Board for a strike vote in 96 plants. There is no doubt as to the outcome of the vote, scheduled for October 24, which would take 325,000 workers off the job.

The U. A. W. strike, however, was not indicative of most of the labor unrest. Most of the strikes were spontaneous expressions of resentment over long pent-up complaints or over relatively minor issues. An instance of this latter is the Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Company which has the unfortunate result of putting 50,000 Ford employees out of work, since Kelsey-Hayes is the source of Ford wheels. Even the U. A. W. has tried unsuccessfully to settle the dispute.

A strike also disrupted the oil industry. Officials of the Oil Workers' Union, demanding a wage increase of 30 per cent, and representatives of the oil companies carried on negotiations with the Labor Department, but by the beginning of October no solution had been reached and the 30,000 oil workers remain on strike in eight states. The nation's gasoline supply was tightened, and Army and Navy officials declared that the shortage of oil was becoming so acute as to delay troop deployment. Government-seizure of the oil refineries followed.

Other strike flurries halted elevators in New York City, stopped transportation in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and closed Pittsburgh steel mills and Westinghouse plants in Ohio and Pennsylvania. All in all, on October 1 395,000 workers were idle due to strikes and layoffs.

LABOR POLICIES

The clash between labor and management was fundamentally based on two contradictory administrative policies. Organized labor was determined not to return to old jobs without pay approximating war-time "take home" as long as the cost of living was high. The government agencies apparently approved this stand, and decided that employers could grant what wage increases they desired, *so long as the increase was not used as a reason for raising the price of the employer's goods.* Management was equally as determined that no wage increases would be granted while OPA price ceilings remained.

The picket formation was not the only line on the labor scene; there was also the line before unemployment compensation offices. The last week of September saw claims jump to 20.7 per cent over the preceding week. Total claims approximated 1,500,000.

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In a move to bring order out of chaos, President Truman put the scattered war labor relations bureaus—the W.L.B., U.S.E.S. and W.M.C. —in the Labor Department under Lewis B. Schwellenbach. Former Economic Stabilizer William H. Davis became unemployed as the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion absorbed the Office of Economic Stabilization on September 18. No decisive action, however, was taken on the wave of strikes. A rejuvenated Conciliation Service apparently was to be the main instrumentality of labor policy. The administration seemed to be waiting for the Industry-Labor Conference of November 5 before taking any drastic action.

Congress had definite ideas, even if the administration didn't. It gave an angry if ineffectual slap to strikers by refusing to act on President Truman's unemployment compensation bill. The net effect of this was to penalize the legitimately unemployed worker because his brethren in another plant were on strike.

Another item of President Truman's reconversion policy fared better. On September 28 the Senate passed, 71-10, the Murray Full Employment Bill. It had been greatly rewritten in its passage through the upper chamber, but its sponsors professed to view it as "satisfactory." By a vote of 82-0, an amendment was tacked on to the bill under which any program of federal investment and expenditures for the fiscal years 1948 and beyond "shall be accompanied by a program of taxation designed and calculated to prevent any net increase in the national debt." As the bill now stands, the federal government has the responsibility of assuming "continuing full employment opportunities for all Americans able to work and desiring work." It is felt by observers that the bill will be further weakened when it reaches the House.

RESHUFFLING OF FACES

President Truman made his first appointment to the Supreme Court on September 18. The choice surprised everybody, yet met with general approval. Harold H. Burton, Republican senator from Ohio, personal friend of the President and a prominent member of the Truman Senatorial war investigating committee, joined Chief Justice Stone, the only Republican on the bench. The Democrats applauded the choice because it was certain that a Democratic Senator would be chosen by Ohio's governor to fill the position vacated by Burton. Liberal and conservative Republicans were also happy, despite the fact that Burton has been noted for his failure to follow the straight G.O.P. line, and his independence, especially in international matters, has annoyed many of the "Old Guard". Party wheel horses hope that next year a more dependable Republican senator will be elected from Ohio.

Another man moved up the ranks on September 18. Seventy-eight year-old Henry L. Stimson was honorably discharged by President Truman. The new choice was Robert Patterson.

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JOHNNY MARCHES HOME—WHEN?

Congressmen were besieged with letters from irate mothers and wives. The cry of "Get the Boys Home" became too deafening to ignore. Congressman after congressman took turns in accusing the War and Navy Departments of deliberately keeping men in uniform long after their usefulness was over.

General Marshall tried to stem the tide. He told 350 members of Congress on September 20 that the Army has lightened its discharge requirement so that by July there will be but 2,500,000 men under arms, or one-third the present number. The 80 point score is due to be lowered by November 1 to 60. By late winter soldiers with two years' service can be discharged if they so desire. Seventy-five point reserve officers are also eligible for release.

Marshall claimed that the Army was speeding men home. By January 750,000 men are due from the Philippines. This figure is expected to swell to 1,490,000 by May. In Europe all save seven long-term occupation divisions will be in the United States by winter's end. High point men are given first preference for shipment, so that men with 85 or more points left Europe in September and October; 70 to 84 point G.I.'s are due in October and November; 60 to 69 point men, in November and December.

There was also good news for personnel of the seven divisions occupying Germany. Marshall said that their families might be allowed to join them by the summer of 1946. The Army also announced that all officers in this country with 43 points, enlisted men with 36 points, 37-year's old servicemen and 34-year olds with more than a year's service will not be sent overseas.

These revelations by the Chief of Staff seemed to satisfy the Senate Military Affairs Committee, and it looked as though the present draft would remain to supply replacements for returning veterans. Congressional attention turned to plans for making the regular army more attractive to volunteers. A House-approved measure included monetary allowances in lieu of quarters for dependents, optional retirement after 20 years, and mustering pay for men now in the Army who re-enlist. The minimum term of enlistment was set at one year, but the Senate committee upped it to 18 months.

WHO'S BOSS?

Those who clamoured to bring the boys back home last month found an ally in an unexpected place. In September General MacArthur announced from Japan that he may soon need only 200,000 troops for occupational duties.

Apparently somebody had forgotten to inform the State Department of this new policy. Acting Secretary Acheson, boss while James Byrnes

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was in London, tartly reminded the general that such matters were to be decided not in Tokyo, but in Washington.

Many senators saw in this exchange a slur on MacArthur, and for a few days there were rumours that Dean Acheson would not be confirmed as Under Secretary of State. The grumblings, however, subsided, and the confirmation was almost unanimous.

President Truman's directive to General MacArthur left little doubt as to our Pacific policy. He stated that our main objective was a change in the form of government from oligarchy to democracy. Nationalistic and militaristic influences were to be eradicated, war criminals punished, civil rights established, the organization of labor, industrial and agricultural groups on a democratic basis encouraged. Heavy industry, manufacturing and the merchant marine are to be allowed to recover only within the bounds necessary for Japan's restricted economy.

NAZIS, DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS

On the other side of the globe, irrepressible General Patton started a minor tempest. There had been much criticism of the Bavarian government of which he was military commander. Nazis officials were still entrenched in key positions. When questioned about it, Patton told newsmen "Well, I'll tell you. This Nazi thing. It's just like a Democratic-Republican election fight." He was quickly called to General Eisenhower's headquarters for explanations and on September 28 the two conferred for more than two hours. The general impression was that Eisenhower emphatically put the Third Army commander on the carpet for his lukewarm attitude in enforcing the Potsdam Declaration and Supreme Headquarter's directives to purge Nazis from dominant positions in industry and politics.

Whatever the gist of the talks, action in Bavaria was not slow in coming after the conference. On September 29 Minister President Friedrich Schaefer was forced to resign, many pro-Nazis were seized in raids, and the new President was Dr. Wilhelm Hoegner, a Social Democrat and anti-Hitlerite for many years. The following day Patton was removed from command of his famed Third Army and transferred to the skeleton Fifteenth Army.

NO CHANCE OF FORGETTING

The disaster of December 7, 1941, was once again in the news. Twice investigated, once by the Roberts Committee appointed by the former President Roosevelt, and once by Army and Navy Boards, it was due for yet a third scrutiny. A group of six Democrats and four Republicans, set out to polish off some of the unfinished business of the previous reports. Before the House, on September 11, passed the Senate approved resolution, 368 to 0, it beat down by a close vote a Republican demand for equal party representation on the investigating committee.

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FORUM FEATURES

In "The Re-Education of Japan," **Channing Liem,** Secretary of the American Foundation for Korean Education, uncovers problems in our treatment of the defeated Japanese people which are more controversial than those governing re-education in Germany, as discussed by **Frederick H. Cramer,** of Mount Holyoke College, in last month's FORUM. Professor Cramer called for a thorough-going revision of the German school system and showed how little German education has changed since the days of Bismarck and William II. Mr. Liem, too, states that Japanese education must be geared to democratic lines, but concentrates particularly upon the insincerity and sadism of the Japanese mind. And it is in this connection that all may not agree with Mr. Liem's Korean point of view.

Sidney B. Fay, who wrote the article on the failure of the first meeting of the Council of the Foreign Ministers on pages 215-221, is a Harvard and Radcliffe professor of long standing and is known particularly well for his **Origins of the World War (1).** Before going to Cambridge, Professor Fay taught for a dozen years each at Dartmouth and Smith. A Contributing Editor on the staff of CURRENT HISTORY and the author of many articles, he has written **The Rise of Brandenburg-Prussia to 1786** and is co-author of **The Guide to Historical Literature.** At present, Professor Fay is the Vice-President of the American Historical Association.

Alzada Comstock's "Tax Relief for Business" is the second in a series of three articles on taxation. The first, which appeared in the October issue of FORUM, portrayed the standpoint of the government; the second, in this issue, the point of view of the producer; and the third, which will be in the December FORUM, the consumer's point of view.

"Labor Rivalries and Policies" is the third and last of a series of articles by **Mark Starr** of The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, on the role of unions in reconversion. The first two were "The Role of Unions in Reconversion" and "From Collective Bargaining to Planning and Control" in the September and October issues of FORUM respectively.

Since the **Forum** on intervention in Argentina was written, political affairs there have reached a crisis. The army, again calling the turn in Argentine politics, ousted the cabinet of President Edelmiro Farrel, including the power hungry Colonel Juan Domingo Perón. Since then, however, Perón returned to power and after two days the Argentine police declared the situation to be "normal" once more.

In response to newspaper criticism of military government, such as is found in some of the viewpoints in **Editorialingo** this month, General Eisenhower declared that "the Army does not want to stay in Germany one minute more than necessary" but that the Army did not expect to change German thinking in five months.

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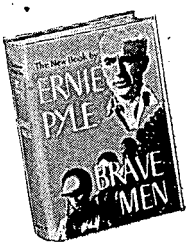

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